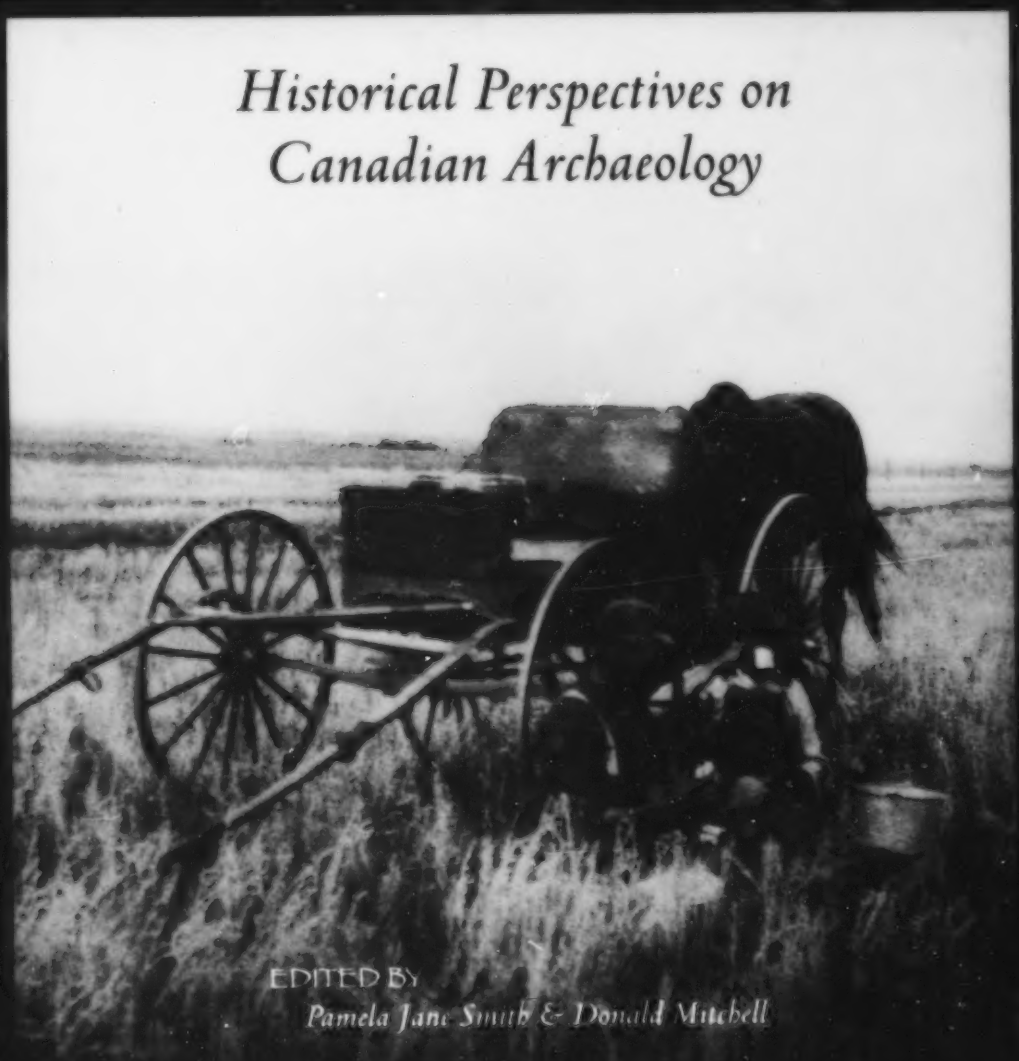
BRINGING BACK THE PAST

Historical Perspectives on Canadian Archaeology



EDITED BY
Pamela Jane Smith & Donald Mitchell

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for Bill Taylor
"a promise kept"

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Preface

Bringing Back the Past is the first book to document and analyse the development of archaeology as a Canadian governmental, academic, private, and indigenous enterprise. Although the history of social sciences is a fast growing field of inquiry, archaeology's Canadian past is not well recorded. As founding fathers and mothers die and the study and practice of archaeology changes, there is increasing need to put the activity of digging up our past into perspective. Who first encouraged archaeology as a science in Canada? Who participated? What has been the involvement of women? What was the Native role? How did archaeology become institutionalized academically? How and why did it develop into a governmental and vast private industry? What is happening now with the empowerment of Native peoples?

When the late William E. Taylor, Jr, Director Emeritus of the Canadian Museum of Civilization, and Pamela Jane Smith conceived of this book in 1993, the goal was to engender primary research and to answer these and other questions. To encourage needed research, Taylor and Smith organised the Canadian Archaeological Association's first session on the history of the discipline in Canada, held at the 1994 C.A.A.'s annual meeting in Edmonton. Contributors to that session were chosen for their expertise in the area they were asked to cover. Many of the present book's articles, such as Davis' treatment of the history of Nova Scotia archaeology, Dyck's review of activities at the National Museum of Canada, Richling's analysis of the Geological Survey of Canada, Killan's research on the Canadian Institute, Klimko's study of nationalism and fur trade archaeology, Mitchell's explanation of changing archaeology in British Columbia, Noble's work on Emerson's contributions, and Park's critique of Thule archaeology, resulted from research first presented as successful conference papers in 1994.

Taylor's death in late 1994 was sad and unforeseen. With Smith entrenched at Cambridge, she sought moral and technical support from Christopher Chippindale who encouraged her to continue soliciting research on archaeology and its Canadian identity.

In 1995, Smith returned to Canada to organize a follow-up history of archaeology session for the annual C.A.A. meeting of 1995. Many of the present volume's best papers, such as Latta, Martelle-Hayter and Reed's sophisticated discussion of women in Ontario archaeology, Park's entertaining comments on academic role models, Johnson and Jones' history of volunteer involvement in Saskatchewan, Pettipas *et al.*'s description of the University of Manitoba's archaeology, and Ferris' commentary on the archaeological consulting industry in Ontario, emerged from that popular and productive conference. Mr and Mrs A.D. Tushingham also gave a paper documenting the history of archaeology abroad at the Royal Ontario Museum which became the basis for this volume's contribution by Pendergast.

Shortly after, in 1995, Donald Mitchell offered to help and has since been responsible for editing the contributed papers. In 1996, Barnett Richling and Smith organized a third history of archaeology C.A.A. session. Smith then solicited the remaining contributions, MacNeish's autobiography, Martijn's thorough review of Quebec prehistoric research, and Loring's paper on Innu archaeology, to fill gaps in regions and subjects. Trigger's paper, commissioned by the University of Chicago for a conference, was offered to us for publication.

Since this collection is a pioneering effort, the editors did not recommend that contributors follow a "party line." The subject is too openly new for definitive closing statements. Essays therefore vary widely in style and approach. Papers range from intensely personal, biographical statements to more detached analyses. Some contributions are primarily descriptive while others include second order theoretical debate. Several articles are enthusiastically

informal. Papers vary from thumbnail biographical sketches such as Dyck's record of Harlan Smith and Douglas Leechman's activities to mid-career compilations such as Park's observations on how certain assumptions have skewed Arctic archaeological research. All essays are the result of original, innovative, primary research. Many — such as Latta *et al.*, MacNeish's, Noble's, Pendergast's and Trigger's — are the only existing work on the chosen topic. The remaining, such as Martijn's account of prehistory in Quebec, are the most recent and certainly the most thorough and complete.

Contributions to *Bringing Back the Past* are divided into four categories: people, institutions, regions, and "Toward the present." Each category is chronologically arranged with essays covering the earliest events presented first. The book itself is loosely structured on a time-line. The final section, "Toward the present," deals with the most recent developments, concluding with Loring's study of Innu according to archaeology and Innu according to themselves.

The many archaeologists who participated in the creation of this book feel that Canadian archaeology can benefit from the hindsight provided by these papers. The political and social contexts of our discipline are here explored for the first time and archaeology's contributions to our society are now recorded. We hope that this beginning will encourage others to publish similar documentation and analysis. The time is right for the study of the science that studies our past.

Avant-Propos

Bringing Back the Past est le premier livre à documenter et analyser l'évolution de l'archéologie en tant qu'entreprise gouvernementale, universitaire, privée et autochtone au Canada. Bien que l'histoire des sciences humaines soit un sujet de plus en plus étudié, le passé de l'archéologie au Canada n'est pas bien documenté. À mesure que les pionniers et pionnières disparaissent et que l'étude et la pratique de l'archéologie changent, le besoin de replacer dans son contexte la mise à jour de notre passé se fait sentir de façon plus pressante. Qui a d'abord encouragé la science de l'archéologie au Canada? Qui y a contribué? Quelle a été la participation des femmes? Quel rôle ont joué les Amérindiens? Comment l'archéologie est-elle devenue objet d'étude institutionnalisé? Comment et pourquoi s'est-elle transformée en une industrie gouvernmentale et privée relativement importante? Qu'advient-il maintenant que les peuples autochtones découvrent leur pouvoir?

Lorsque le regretté William E. Taylor, Jr, directeur émérite du Musée canadien des civilisations, et Pamela Jane Smith ont conçu ce livre en 1993, ils visaient à stimuler la recherche fondamentale et à répondre à ces questions notamment. Afin d'encourager la recherche nécessaire, Taylor et Smith ont organisé la première séance de l'Association canadienne d'archéologie sur l'histoire de cette discipline au Canada, tenue à Edmonton lors de la première assemblée annuelle de l'A.C.A. en 1994. Les participants à cette séance furent choisis pour leur expertise en la matière dont ils devaient traiter. Bon nombre des articles qui constituent ce livre sont basés sur des rapports de recherches présentés pour la première fois lors du congrès de 1994, à savoir le rapport de Davis sur l'histoire de l'archéologie en Nouvelle-Écosse, la revue des activités du Musée national du Canada par Dyck, l'analyse de la Commission géologique du Canada par Richling, la recherche de Killan sur le Canadian Institute, l'étude de Klimko sur le nationalisme et l'archéologie de la traite des fourrures, l'explication de Mitchell sur l'évolution de l'archéologie en Colombie-brittanique, le travail de Noble sur les contributions d'Emerson et la critique de Park sur l'archéologie de Thulé.

Après la mort triste et soudaine de Taylor à la fin de 1994, Smith, installée à Cambridge, demande de l'aide morale et technique à Christopher Chippindale. Celui-ci l'encourage à continuer de solliciter des travaux de recherche sur l'archéologie et son identité canadienne.

In 1995, Smith retourne au Canada pour organiser une séance de suivi sur l'histoire de l'archéologie pour l'assemblée annuelle de l'A.C.A. cette année-là. Plusieurs des meilleurs articles du présent volume sont issus de ce congrès populaire et productif, par exemple ceux de Latta, Martelle-Hayter ainsi que la discussion subtile de Reed sur les femmes et l'archéologie en Ontario, les commentaires amusants de Park sur les modèles de comportement à l'université, l'histoire du bénévolat en Saskatchewan par Johnson et Jones, la description de l'archéologie à l'Université du Manitoba par Pettipas et al. et le commentaire de Ferris sur l'industrie de la consultation en archéologie en Ontario. Monsieur et Madame A.D. Tushingham ont aussi donné une communication sur l'histoire de l'archéologie outre-mer au Royal Ontario Museum, sur laquelle est basée la contribution ci-incluse par Pendergast.

Peu après, en 1995, Donald Mitchell offre son aide; c'est lui qui s'occupe désormais de la révision des articles soumis. En 1996, Barnett Richling et Smith organisent une troisième séance sur l'histoire de l'archéologie pour l'A.C.A. Smith sollicite alors les autres articles afin compléter la gamme des régions et des sujets; ce sont l'autobiographie de MacNeish, la revue approfondie de la recherche préhistorique

québécoise de Martijn, et la communication de Loring sur l'archéologie et les Innus. L'Université de Chicago nous a offert de publier l'article de Trigger, commandé pour une conférence.

Comme cette collection n'a pas de précédent, les éditeurs n'ont pas recommandé aux collaborateurs d'adopter une «position officielle». Le sujet est trop nouveau pour qu'on puisse attendre des observations finales à caractère définitif. Les essais couvrent donc toute une gamme de styles et d'approches. Ils varient de la biographie intensément personnelle à l'analyse plus détachée. Certaines contributions sont essentiellement descriptives tandis que d'autres comprennent un débat théorique du deuxième ordre. Plusieurs articles sont enthousiastes et informels. Ils vont des minicroquis biographiques tel le rapport de Dyck sur les activités de Harlan Smith et Douglas Leechman aux compilations de mi-carrière telles les observations sur la façon dont certaines hypothèses ont faussé la recherche archéologique dans l'Arctique. Tous les essais découlent d'une recherche primaire originale et novatrice. Ceux de Latta *et al.*, de MacNeish, de Noble, de Pendergast et de Trigger sont les seules communications qui existent dans leurs domaines respectifs. Les autres, tel le compte-rendu de Martijn sur la préhistoire du Québec, sont les plus récents et sans contredit les plus complets.

Les contributions à *Bringing Back the Past* se divisent en quatre catégories : les personnes, les institutions, les régions et «vers le présent». Chaque catégorie est organisée selon l'ordre chronologique, les essais relatifs aux événements les plus anciens étant présentés en premier. Le livre lui-même est structuré assez librement autour d'une ligne temporelle. La section finale, «vers le présent», s'intéresse aux événements plus récents et se termine par l'étude de Loring sur les Innus vus par l'archéologie et les Innus vus par eux-mêmes.

Les nombreux archéologues qui ont participé à la création de ce livre croient que l'archéologie canadienne peut tirer profit de l'analyse à postériori que permettent ces articles. Les contextes politique et social de notre discipline sont ici explorés pour la première fois et les contributions de l'archéologie à notre société sont maintenant consignées. Nous espérons que ce commencement encouragera d'autres publications de documentation et d'analyse. Le temps est venu d'étudier la science qui étudie notre passé.

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Introductory

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Children at a Saturday morning archaeology lecture in the auditorium of the National Museum of Canada, Ottawa, 21 October 1939.
Canadian Museum of Civilization photograph, no. 85903, taken by W.S. Hutton.

Chapter 1

Introduction

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Dr. Hilda Neatby of the University of Saskatchewan was able to write in 1951, "An intelligent awareness of the past is generally considered to be a sign of maturity in an individual or a community; but the Canadian people, although showing unmistakable signs of political maturity, still regard their history with indifference tempered by distaste" (as quoted in Key 1973). We are encouraged to think that Canadian archaeology is showing signs of maturity in its regard for its own history since there have now been several sessions dedicated to this topic at meetings of the Canadian Archaeological Association. We are acknowledging our own past as significant, and acknowledging that it shapes the present in some surprising ways.

Patterson (1986:7) has argued that disciplinary histories often portray the historical process as a linear progression which fails to examine the socio/economic/political conditions that allow archaeology to exist as a field of inquiry, or to appreciate the political and ideological conditions under which archaeological knowledge is produced. There is, in these collected papers, an implicit linear progression, but the very timing of archaeological development outside of Ontario introduces some very real contextual realizations into the discussions. There is a fair amount of awareness of, especially, the economic context of archaeology, and awareness of political and ideological conditions is visible in some papers. As a group, these papers address issues within a broader context encompassing social, economic, cultural, political, intellectual, ethical and institutional arenas.

Killan is a historian who has devoted a great deal of his professional attention to important figures in the latter 19th century, especially David Boyle. However, the majority of papers are written by practitioners of archaeology rather than by external scholars. This means, inevitably, that the papers are slanted toward an emic view of the development of the discipline. Myriad and not entirely consistent threads link the papers which provide quite a different picture than would have resulted, for example, had this entire task been undertaken by a single historian of science. As such, the archaeologists represented here focus on the theoretical, intellectual or personal pursuits internal to the discipline, such as the development of the framework for archaeology, the theoretical, intellectual, or personal pursuits internal to the discipline (such as the development of scientific ideas and their reception and integration into the discipline) in a uniquely Canadian setting.

The content of these papers can be classified into two broad areas: first, descriptions of who, when and what, and second, scientific and contextual issues raised by the selected historical factors. Most papers do a bit of both. Differ-

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ent kinds of histories are evident in the papers represented in the volume. There are those that narrate experiences of individuals, others that chronicle markers of archaeological developments and/or regional trends, and still others that criticize interpretations or academic objectives. Our intention here is not to discuss the details of individual papers, but to identify crucial issues facing archaeology in Canada as addressed by these *historical* papers.

Archaeology as Science

As Killan documents, the Canadian Institute (1852-1896) played a pivotal role in transforming antiquarian archaeology in Ontario into a more scientific mode, with David Wilson providing the stimulus and David Boyle building on Wilson's pioneering efforts to bring Ontario archaeology into the Classificatory-Descriptive era as identified by Willey and Sabloff (1980). This sets the tone for archaeological work in focusing on collection, systematic description, and rudimentary classification based on the evolutionary principles important at this time. This regularization of archaeology occurred at the time mound-builders were thought to represent a vanished race.

The story of David Boyle highlights problems that are with us still, such as the continuous problems of balancing conflicting personal goals and institutional and political agendas (see MacNeish for a later version of this). Archaeologists still grapple with the problems of building external appreciation of the importance of the field and of creating a market for our kind of expertise outside of the immediate circle of archaeology.

This story also, and significantly, captures the placement of archaeology within the realm of science. Canada's native people were seen as a vanishing resource of anthropological information, and, as MacNeish makes clear for a later period, the acquisition of ethnographic data took precedence over archaeological remains which, after all, were not going anywhere. The view of archaeology as a science, and, in post-Boyle times, its placement within the governmental agency of the Geological Survey of Canada, allied archaeology with resources and resource exploitation in some interesting ways. Victorian science used classification, identification and description taxonomy for gaining control over nature and over natural resources, including native peoples (Zeller 1987:4). A consequence was that archaeology, and even ethnography, were effectively separated from the native peoples of Canada. This, it was believed, did not matter because the native people were either going to die off or be assimilated. This separation of archaeology from the cultures and natives people of Canada is mentioned in the contemporary context by Yellowhorn (1995) and Loring (this volume).

To return to an earlier period, Dyck and Davis show just how much individuals counted in keeping archaeology alive during the early decades of this century. Indeed, archaeology rested on the shoulders of a few exceptionally dedicated individuals in Ontario and the Maritimes, and their comparative, descriptive classificatory approaches laid the foundation for subsequent interpretive frameworks.

The Effects of Physical Geography and Climate

It is a truism that Canada is a big country. The huge land mass, the difficulties of access and transportation, the effects of climate, and the history of European derived migration have all conspired to make the development of archaeology in Canada a temporally and spatially disjunctive phenomenon. Kenneth Dawson (1994) sketched a history of archaeological exploration in northern Ontario that was dependent on ease of access (thus, lake shores were investigated fairly early); he painted a vivid verbal picture of Jim Wright simply stepping over the brushy obstacles that daunted lesser men. He and others have chronicled in some detail the physical difficulties of getting to a designated area, importing supplies and equipment, surviving the polar bears or black flies and mosquitoes, and getting home safely again. Certainly these stories abound in the oral lore of our discipline(much of it told in bars.

The problems of comprehensive inventory and study of the archaeological resources of this

large land area would have been daunting even with a full-blown road system and airstrips all over the place. MacNeish details the great distances he travelled in a single summer during the time he was with the National Museum in order to do research in many corners of the country. Martijn discusses this factor for Quebec.

Archaeological work outside of the more populated southern areas was either of very long duration, or of the expeditionary, seasonal sort. Loring contrasts the kinds of relationships between natives and archaeologists/ethnographers in the sub-arctic pre- and post World War II. Before the war, it was so hard to get into the north that explorers, including ethnographers, stayed for a full seasonal round. The association of native Innu hunters and seamstresses with archaeologists provided important emic inferences about sites and artifacts. After World War II, archaeologists came for the season bringing their own students. This had a certain impact on relationships with native people who only saw the archaeologists come in the summer and vanish with archaeological objects.

The development of archaeology across Canada (outside of Ontario and the Maritimes) roughly parallels the development of museums in Canada (Key 1973), and both sets of developments (and others) are tied to trans-Canadian migration histories, transportation improvements (the completion of the Trans-Canada highway in the 1960s), and post-war economic affluence. Archaeology was long centered in Ontario, with a power base in the federal government. The diffusion of archaeology into the other provinces and territories was sometimes opposed by those in the National Museum and sometimes encouraged (see MacNeish). But the emergence of archaeology across Canada depended more on conditions in the provinces and territories than it did on any pushing from Ottawa.

The physical geography and climate of Canada present challenges to the survival of archaeological resources, as has long been recognized. Natural destruction of sites was a worry in Nova Scotia in the 1800s and continues to be so today. Permafrost and freeze/thaw cycles have effects on site stratigraphy.

It would be interesting to trace in greater detail than has yet been done any possible correlations between accessibility, the linking of the country with the Trans-Canada, and the different kinds of "cultural" institutions that emerged in different parts of the country (tied in part to settlement histories, source of the incoming European population, and timing of the Europeanization of areas) to the development of archaeology in each area. The linking of archaeology in the Maritimes with the institutes descended from the Mechanical Institutes is a case in point.

Ideological Influences on Canadian Archaeology

Acknowledgement of non-scientific variables as playing a major role in the selection of archaeological problems for investigation, and in the interpretive framework applied to these problems, is not something most archaeologists consider in their daily life. We are too close to our own work to see some of the political and ideological implications of what we do. It is called nationalism when such ideological slants are consistently applied for the benefit of the state. Except for some notorious examples from other times and places (see Trigger 1989), most archaeologists have difficulties perceiving the role of ideological biases closer to home. Although such ideological bents in Canadian archaeology have not been on a scale approaching those seen in Nazi Germany, they have not been entirely absent. Klimko here, and in her dissertation (1994), looks at the growth of fur trade archaeology as a consequence of a search in the creation of a Canadian identity in western Canada. The fur trade provided the tangible authentic evidence for a link between the present and the past which served to legitimize Euro-Canadian expansion by presenting it as a natural, common-sense occurrence. Native people were stereotyped as perfidious, pagan, and essentially primitive(in comparison to the heroic pioneers bringing civilization to the wilderness.

Martijn shows that a certain ideological position played a role in the late development of precontact archaeology in Quebec. The Quebecois were too busy defending and amassing tangible evidence of their own historical

reality to bother with the prehistoric period. Native people were, again, portrayed as primitive. In both the fur-trade and the Quebec cases, "Indians" were used as a prop or backdrop against which the role of civilization is legitimized.

More recently, Eldon Yellowhorn (1995) sees "nationalism" as important for First Nations in creating their own emic theory for purposes of identity, thus providing both a different scale and a reversal of the usual connotations of that word.

Nationalism can also be seen as being implicated in the rapid growth of universities and museums in the 1960s — (an optimistic era which corresponds with Canada's Centennial and the opening of the Trans Canada highway. Not only did archaeology put down local roots across the country, but there was an enormous push to bring the training of archaeologists into Canadian institutions, (Pettipas *et al.*, MacNeish, see also Forbis and Kelley 1994). The Canadianization of archaeological training (so that Canadians would not have to leave the country to study) is a very real phenomenon which can be charted across the country. This occurred at a time of relative affluence which has not been experienced since.

Ideological underpinning does play an important role in the practise and growth of archaeology in Canada. Whether consciously or not, researchers all function from inherited conditions and "the received wisdom of their times" (Ucko 1989:xii), and rarely reflect on how these conditions or modes of thought arose and whose interests they are serving. These interests may range from state organizations to ethnic communities to socio-economic groups who are trying to attain a political consciousness or group integration (McGuire 1992:141). Whereas the "dominant" class or group may try to present their interests as serving the whole society, people are not necessarily deceived by the ideological message as is evident from recent initiatives and events. For example, First Nations are actively challenging the prevailing ideology and are demanding control of their own history and identity. Therefore, one challenge all archaeologists face is to question their objectivity and the neutrality of their interpretations.

The Importance of Individuals

Archaeology was tethered to a relatively small number of incredibly dedicated individuals in the early days of the field. In this volume, they are represented by David Wilson and David Boyle (Killan), Harlan I. Smith and Douglas Leechman (Dyck), and George F. Matthew (Davis). As we have argued above, the adoption of a science/resource model, and the importance of classificatory description, had far-reaching consequences in Canada, as elsewhere. These historically important founding fathers were found primarily in the Maritimes and Ontario.

Perhaps the importance and visibility of individuals, as individuals, in a discipline is in part related to the demography of their kind. Certainly there were so few archaeologists in Canada for so long that individuals assume a more significant historical role than they might have done in a larger population of peers in different contemporary settings. Bill Taylor illustrated the small number of professional archaeologists in Canada in the 1950s by noting a national meeting could have been held in a station wagon (Taylor 1977:152-153).

Non-professional archaeologists played important, indeed critical, roles in a number of geographic areas. In the 1930s and 1940s, the lines between amateur and professional were not so firmly drawn as was the case later. The account of the development of Saskatchewan archaeology (Johnson and Jones) resonates with the development of archaeology all the way down the Plains where the dust storms of the 1930s initiated major episodes of artifact collecting. The collectors could be differentiated into those with little interest in scientific and contextual aspects of archaeology, and those who kept excellent records and were genuinely interested in the past. The latter amateur archaeologists became invaluable to the professional archaeologists who took an interest in the amateur groups. The Saskatchewan group is a model of such a development.

Another way to look at the importance of individuals is to look at mentoring, or perceptions of who mentored whom, as Robert Park

has done. Not surprisingly, most of the perceived mentors in his survey are localized in universities — (underlining the importance of intellectual and social stimulation in that environment for subsequent professional positioning. Archaeological training offers opportunities for personal interaction and intellectual exchanges on a scale not often matched in other disciplines, and it is not unexpected that these are formative experiences. We are, of course, quite intrigued by the apparent gender differences in responses to the questionnaire, and would like to see a fuller development of those issues.

Since Canadian archaeology has not embraced the theoretical trends from the United States or the United Kingdom or Europe with any great fervour or consistency, it is worth inquiring to what extent the theoretical position of mentors determined that of their students. Insofar as this is readable from Park's survey, we would say that diversity seems to overwhelm any single theoretical paradigm. If mentoring can be construed as intellectual formative influences, as some of Park's respondents seem to have done, then it is interesting that 70 percent of those people listed as intellectually influential were Canadians.

Noble draws attention to the extensive influence Norm Emerson exercised on Canadian archaeology and Canadian archaeologists from his instrumental position at the University of Toronto from 1946. Individuals who occupy prominent positions in a sparse field of peers have the potential to attain towering importance, as Emerson undeniably did.

Trigger gives us an intellectual autobiography outlining critical formative influences on his own development, and, of special interest, the impact of some fundamental characteristics of Canadian scholarship in the humanities and social sciences on the positions he had adopted with regard to, for example, processualism and post-processualism. His personal account reinforces our own ideas about the lack of extreme positions that has characterized Canadian archaeology (Kelley and Williamson 1996), and this, we argue, is a very significant attribute of the archaeology of this nation.

Gender Issues

Latta *et al.* explore the role of women in archaeology early in this century, bringing some of the forgotten women pioneer figures into focus. Like other studies of this nature (Gero 1983), these Canadian examples stress the importance of the societal placement of women in terms of their availability to do archaeological work. In the Victorian era, discrimination against women was based on social class and not gender. With the loss of the servant class around World War I, and the subsequent loss of leisure time, women had less time to devote to professional development, although many continued their archaeological interests through their spouses. This social-class based bias against women's participation again appears during the Depression Era where only women from middle to upper class families could afford education and time. Latta *et al.* raise the issue of important differences in basic philosophical orientation between these early women and their male contemporaries. Women are perceived as being more cooperative and less competitive, and as not being into potentially destructive individualism. These suggestions echo more contemporary analyses of differences between men and women's ways of being (*cf* Belenky *et al.* 1986). Kelley has been criticized for claiming that good archaeology was good archaeology regardless of who did it. In the wake of the emergence of gender studies in science, and in archaeology (see, for example, Nelson 1997), this position appears naive. The idea that women might do archaeology differently from men seems to us an important issue that could be examined in greater depth than it has been to date.

It would be useful to continue to collect information about the role of women in Canadian archaeology, to see if the historical pattern fits the classic stereotype of women being found in the lab, and to chart changes in the roles women play in the discipline.

Restructuring the Discipline

Who collected archaeological data, from what base, and according to what paradigm has

changed over time. One of the great divides in Canadian archaeology seems to relate to archaeology done in Canada versus that done abroad. Tushingham (1995) and Pendergast (this volume) both outline the long-term role of the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM) in acquiring major foreign collections through purchase and ROM-sponsored field projects. These are the collections that built the ROM. As negatively as such acquisition activities might be regarded in today's post-colonial world, they were positively regarded at the time, and they had the effect of bringing the cultures of the world to Ontario. The likes of those collections will not be amassed again.

Several interesting questions arise from the account of the ROM. Was archaeology abroad, at least in the pre-Canada Council/pre-Social Science and Humanities Research Council days, largely funded by wealthy patrons, and is that a different pattern of funding from that enjoyed by archaeology in Canada? We suspect that there is a pattern of elite and private funding that parallels that seen in the eastern United States of the day, or England or Europe. Do we therefore have two independent streams of archaeological development in Canada?

Not included in any of the papers, but related to the issue of how separate archaeology abroad might be from the archaeology of Canada, is the question of why the Canadian Archaeological Association (C.A.A.) has been a very successful organization associated with a major journal, while the organization of Canadian Archaeologists Abroad, born at roughly the same time as the C.A.A., had a very short life. This in turn raises questions about whether the archaeologists who work abroad are too diverse in their interests to sustain working relationships with others. As discussed above, the In-Canada archaeologists are in a different ball park than they were even ten years ago in terms of who produces what data and who manages what resource. We assume that archaeologists working abroad have not had their data base detached from the researchers and institutions on anything like the scale experienced by the In-Canada group.

Turning again to the In-Canada part of archaeology, expansion of archaeology into universities across the country in the late 1950s and 1960s was an important factor in the major shifts experienced by the discipline, as was the slightly later advent of provincial agencies to protect and manage archaeological resources.

Papers by Pettipas *et al.* and MacNeish chart the beginnings of two university departments. The role of salvage archaeology in the creation of the Manitoba department is notable, and it is worth noting that the C.A.A. was born in Manitoba. There are no papers in this collection detailing the creation of provincial agencies, but this was an important factor in the expansion of the archaeological base.

What we want to emphasize here are the shifts that have occurred since archaeology was put into universities across the country and the provincial and territorial agencies created. These shifts are exemplified in the papers by Mitchell, and, particularly, Ferris. The role of governments in managing archaeological resources increased steadily through the 1970s, with an unprecedented growth in Cultural Resource Management (CRM) in the 1980s.

This growth has not been problem free. There is a widening gap between CRM and academia. This same deepening schism within archaeology is seen in other countries such as the United States. Academia fancies itself as the true core where appropriate theories and methods are imparted. CRM (both private practitioners and government representatives) see themselves as producing 95 percent of the new archaeological data which is not being integrated into academic schemes. People in each part of this triad live rather different daily lives, in which teaching contrasts with management and/or contract fulfillment. This fragmentation of the profession has left some significant holes that archaeologists need to address consciously and deliberately. The discipline as a whole needs to find bridges across the chasms.

Ferris' paper makes an important point in noting that CRM has also changed through time and is not a static, one-time development/creation. Parallels can be seen between British Columbia and Ontario and other parts of Canada in that, in the "early days" of CRM, the government sent staff out to do impact assessments, whereas now the consulting community has completely taken over that role. Governmental budget cuts have been one factor in this shift,

but the sheer volume of assessments has also fostered the shift to more out-sourcing. Economic situations may well be driving the move to self regulation by industry, as is being considered in Alberta.

Regional overviews would be useful for all parts of the triad. Who would pay? The C.A.A. or other groups might play a role in negotiating an additional link in the chain with government agencies and the patrons of contract work that would allow this further analytical step to become a routine part of the process. Ferris seems to suggest that we have to exercise a triage approach to archaeological resources, given the volume of clearance projects, especially in Ontario. This potential (and actual) disregarding of collected resources is not ideal science, but it reflects the way in which socio-economic situations affect what is done as archaeology. The bottom line, right now, is how to deliver resources to those important archaeological activities that now fall between the cracks of the present structure of the discipline (especially those with apparent low pay-offs, and those (like regional overviews) that seem to be no one's financial responsibility. Can we interest academics in such ventures? Contraction of resources is always much more difficult to adjust to than expansions. We need to be mindful in the future of safeguarding important aspects of archaeology in what will continue to be elastic changes in supportive resources. Like Ferris, we are not so sure of how to deal with the problem, but we are dead certain the archaeological community needs to look at the problems and design paths we can follow.

Ferris notes that, in the past, the first contact First Nations peoples had with archaeologists, ethnographers and other researchers was likely to be academics who arrived for a season, and left with very little community involvement. Today, CRM archaeologists may be the "contact missionaries" who introduce communities to archaeology. As is discussed below, there is much greater contact with and involvement with native communities in doing archaeology than was the case in the past.

We accept Ferris' point that CRM is defining archaeology in Ontario, and we feel this is true across the country.

First Nations' Participation

There are a number of reasons why the role of First Nations in archaeology is expanding at a rapid rate, reflecting the changing socio/economic/political context in which archaeology is practiced. First Nations are aware of the role archaeology can play in political agendas (*e.g.*, land claims) in that archaeology represents the scientific evidence that western society demands. Archaeology is tangible.

First Nation's people are beginning to do archaeology themselves, and to make decisions about access to archaeological resources by others. As First Nation's people join archaeological discussions, we will see, and have already seen, both acceptance of and challenges to traditional archaeological inferences. First Nation archaeologists are bringing a different range of concerns to the table. Yellowhorn (1995) and Loring (this volume) allude to the use of oral history in the form of stories and memories of the elders to bring a humanistic element to archaeology and to make it relevant to First Nation communities. Also, Loring refers to spirituality as important, as none of the other contributors to the volume do. Yellowhorn (1995) also brings up the importance of spirituality in his research.

Archaeology as a community endeavour is already an important part of archaeology in native communities. Following Linkletter (1994) we suggest that women are particularly well placed in their communities to foster this activity.

Linkletter (1994) sees parallels between the current move toward a post-colonial reality for Canada's First Nations and events in Africa. We would note that some of those African efforts to reclaim a pre-colonial past that began so forcefully and successfully have tapered off, or become ineffective in the face of serious socio-economic and military problems that have diverted the resources from these efforts.

Accepting First Nations' people as consumers of archaeological information for contemporary concerns, as partners in doing archaeology, and as having knowledge to contribute to the discipline is likely to have certain consequences. To mention just one, archaeologists

will become more accustomed than they have traditionally been to multiple voices and multiple narratives. It seems likely that "Indian" or Inuit archaeology as done by descendants (often near their home communities) may very well ask a different range of questions, give a more central place to oral traditions, and become part of a range of cultural and heritage programs within the band or community. First Nations archaeology will have closer feed-back loops to local people, and it will become more communally driven. We note that the Canadian Archaeological Association has been quite aware of these and related issues and has been proactive in attempting to address them in a timely fashion.

Summary

This group of papers does not pretend to cover all aspects of the history of Canadian archaeology. Especially notable by their absence are discussions of the effects of World War I on archaeology, and the role of the National Museum of Canada between World War I and the 1950s when the provinces and territories began to pick up some of the responsibility for the archaeology in this vast country.

These papers show, either implicitly or explicitly, that administration, research and political views and beliefs are more interrelated than archaeologists often perceive. An archaeologist's work is framed by, and constrained, by the social, economic, political and interpersonal relations in the workplace (see Bender 1989:57; Gero *et al.* 1983:1). Further, these non-scientific factors affect research in terms of the questions asked, the methodologies employed, and the inferences that result.

We have some important glimpses of factors affecting the positioning of Canadian archaeology within the broader North American scene. There have been some very direct influences from particular United States institutions, as, for example, Emerson's and MacNeish's Chicago experiences, or the later influx of Wisconsin graduates into the University of Toronto. Trigger was greatly influenced by settlement pattern archaeology emanating from Willey's classic Viru Valley study (as was Kelley), and other American ideas. In the 1960s and into the early 1970s, many of the tenured faculty in the expanding universities were drawn primarily from United States institutions. Given these strong linkages to American archaeology, why, then, did Canada not become a simple extension of the American way of doing archaeology? Why, as Trigger argues, do Humanities and Social Sciences in Canada *not* adopt the more extreme positions of our neighbour to the south, or the post-processualists of other parts of the world? This, we submit, is a topic worth more consideration. It would be useful to understand the persistence of culture history as the dominant paradigm.

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Part One: People

Overleaf
Frederica de Laguna (left) and Catharine McClellan excavating the Parker Site on the Trent River, Ontario, in 1947. This excavation was ancillary work to the Canadian Museum of Civilization's survey organized by de Laguna and Leechman for the St Lawrence River.

The Canadian Museum of Civilization photograph, J433, was taken by Douglas Leechman.

Chapter 2

Toward a Scientific Archaeology: Daniel Wilson, David Boyle and the Canadian Institute 1852–96

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Abstract
From 1852 to 1896, the Canadian Institute played a pivotal role in transforming antiquarian archaeological endeavour in Ontario into a more scientific proposition. This transformation began with Daniel Wilson who articulated a scientific rationale for archaeology, and who turned the *Canadian Journal* into the first publication in Canada to discuss archaeology regularly. Subsequently David Boyle, curator–archaeologist of the Canadian Institute Museum (1884–1896), developed the programme which laid the groundwork for the emergence of Ontario archaeology as a systematic and scientific discipline.

Résumé
De 1882 à 1896, le Canadian Institute joua un rôle primordial dans la transformation d'une archéologie vieux-jeu en Ontario en une entreprise plus scientifique. Cette transformation débuta avec Daniel Wilson qui articula une rationale scientifique pour l'archéologie, et qui conduisit le *Canadian Journal* à devenir la première publication au Canada à ouvrir ses pages à l'archéologie d'une façon regulière. Par la suite, David Boyle, conservateur-archéologue du Canadian Institute Museum (1884–1896), dévelopa le programme qui posa les bases rendant possible la naissance de l'archéologie en Ontario en tant que discipline systématique et scientifique.

Bringing Back the Past: Historical Perspectives on Canadian Archaeology, edited by P.J. Smith and D. Mitchell. Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, Archaeological Survey of Canada, Mercury Series No. 158, 1998:15–24

Between 1852 and 1896, the Canadian Institute, through the efforts of Daniel Wilson and David Boyle, abandoned the armchair, antiquarian speculation about the prehistoric past, and successfully made the transition to what Gordon Willey and Jeremy Sabloff (1980) have called "the classificatory-descriptive phase" of North American archaeology. This was the period when the primary emphasis in archaeological endeavour focused on the collection, systematic description, and rudimentary classification of the archaeological record in periodicals and in museums by a first generation of professionals.

At the founding of the Canadian Institute in Toronto in 1849, there was little to indicate that the members possessed any interest in archaeology. Instead, their charter (1851) spoke of a broader mission — the "general advancement of the Physical Sciences, the Arts and Manufactures . . . ; and more particularly . . . the acquisition of those branches of Knowledge . . . connected with the Professions of Surveying, Engineering, and Architecture"(Wallace 1949:131). To fulfil this mandate, the members planned an ambitious program including the creation of a science library, and the introduction of a regular program of meetings and learned papers, the best of which would be published in a new periodical — *The Canadian Journal* (*CJ*) — established in 1852. The members also hoped to create a general science museum covering all of "Architecture and Engineering, Natural History and Botany, Mineralogy and Geology, Indian Antiquities, and Arts and Manu-

factures" (*CJ* 1:98). This reference to "Indian Antiquities" was a first indication that some members were interested in archaeological pursuits.

It is not surprising that archaeology did not loom large in the Institute's original plans. There was very little about archaeology at mid-century that would have attracted people with a scientific bent. Contemporary thinking on matters prehistoric was primarily conjecture and typically shaped by the popular North American myth of a great vanished race of Mound Builders (Silverberg 1968). American antiquarians attributed the many prehistorically constructed earthworks and mounds that were to be found in their greatest concentration in the Ohio and Mississippi river valleys to a great vanished race. Ontarians, who lived on the fringe of the northern mound zone, took naturally to this notion (Boyle 1900:164–5). In the intellectual climate of the time, few people were prepared to credit contemporary aboriginal peoples or their ancestors with the intelligence or the degree of civilization required to construct elaborate earthworks. Instead, chair-bound philosophers gave full rein to their imagination and hypothesized an astonishing range of fantastic theories as to the identity of the Mound Builders. Various people claimed that the Mound Builders must have been white men, perhaps Danes or one of the ten lost tribes of Israel, or giants or Toltecs or a hybrid race of giant white Jewish Toltec Vikings!

The dominance of speculative thinking in archaeological discussions in the Canadas prior to 1850, and indeed throughout North America, can be attributed to several factors. No systematic site exploration had yet been undertaken; consequently, without a substantial and reliable store of archaeological evidence available for study and comparison, data upon which to build and to test hypotheses, there was no alternative to guesswork when it came to reconstructing North America's prehistoric past. Moreover, in early Ontario, culturally immature and still undergoing its pioneer phase of settlement prior to 1850, the lack of a periodical literature and museums impeded the development of a scientific archaeology by denying those few interested in the subject a factual basis for gereralizing and study.

Just as significant as the want of an adequate foundation of archaeological data was the absence of European models of scientific thinking, models that would eventually challenge the theological interpretations of natural and human history. A systematic and scientifically based archaeological tradition awaited the acceptance among the North American learned community of many currents of thought. These included Charles Lyell's geological principles, particularly the theory of uniformitarianism; Charles Darwin's evolutionary theories; knowledge of the Danish Three Age System and the archaeological methods and theories of Christian Jürgensen Thomsen, curator of the Danish National Museum of Antiquities and his protégé, J.J. Worsaae; and finally, the recognition of the great antiquity of humankind in light of the work of the Frenchman, Boucher de Perthes, excavating in the Somme River gravel beds beginning in 1837, and of the Englishman, William Pengelly, in Kent's Cavern near Torquay (Daniel 1975; Willey and Sabloff 1980). Until knowledge of all these influences crossed the Atlantic and gained acceptance, theological explanations and speculation dominated all writing pertaining to prehistory. It was the transfer of these European ideas and intellectual paradigms, and the concomitant burgeoning of scientific thought, that became one of the hallmarks of the early classificatory-descriptive period of American archaeology. In Ontario, this phase began with the incorporation of the Canadian Institute and the publication of the *Canadian Journal*.

I

It might well be argued that the council of the Canadian Institute launched the classificatory-descriptive period on 12 June 1852, the date affixed to a widely-disseminated circular, drafted by Sandford Fleming, enjoining interested parties to answer a series of questions on mounds, artifacts, petroglyphs, and aboriginal place names in their localities (*CJ* 1:25). Destined to achieve fame as Canada's foremost railway surveyor and construction engineer, Fleming had been prompted to initiate the sur-

vey by two considerations. The first was the accelerating frequency of discoveries of ossuaries and village sites by farmers and railway navvies as Canada West entered its railway era and a period of intensive agricultural settlement. The second and more immediate reason was the publication of Ephraim G. Squier's *Aboriginal Monuments of the State of New York* (1949) published by the Smithsonian Institution. Fleming and the council of the newly incorporated Canadian Institute aspired to model the Institute after the prestigious Smithsonian. They hoped that the archaeological circular would be the beginning of a research project that would not only produce an inventory of archaeological sites in Southern Ontario, but solicit donations of specimens for their fledgling science museum, and ultimately culminate in a volume that would complement Squier's highly acclaimed publication.

Regrettably, Fleming's survey failed to meet any of these objectives. As it happened, no site inventory was developed, no one at the Institute took up archaeological field work on a regular basis, and no volume comparable to Squier's was forthcoming. A few people donated specimens (but without provenience data) which were placed on open shelves in a room in the Institute building. Like all the material in the museum room, the modest archaeological collection suffered over the years from want of curatorial attention, funding and lack of space (*CJ* 3:364; Scadding 1873).

Despite the disappointing results from the 1852 circular, the Canadian Institute managed to contribute in other ways to the evolution of a scientific archaeological tradition. Through the pages of the *Canadian Journal* — the first publication in Canada to discuss archaeology on a regular basis — and the efforts of one individual, Daniel Wilson (Figure 1), the Institute quickly became the major forum in Toronto for those interested in archaeology. The Scottish born and university educated Wilson arrived in Canada in 1853 to assume the chair of history and English at University College, Toronto. Almost immediately this industrious scholar and future president of the University of Toronto (1880–92) became a commanding presence on the Canadian Institute council, eventually serving twice as its president (1859–61, 1878–80), and editing the *Canadian Journal* from 1856 to 1859. Wilson's contribution to the development of Ontario's archaeology lay primarily in his introduction of a scientific approach and the international perspectives he brought to the fledgling discipline.

Wilson came to Canada as one of Britain's leading prehistorians; in fact, it was Wilson who coined the word "prehistory." In his monumental compilation of Scottish antiquities, *Archaeology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland* (Wilson 1851), he was the first scholar to apply the Danish Three Age concept to British archaeology (Trigger 1966:6–7). Once in Toronto, he took up as his hobby anthropology in its widest sense (Trigger 1978:3), encompassing the fields of ethnology, prehistory, physical anthropology, and linguistics, and eventually published a broad synthesis of the cultural history of the New World entitled *Prehistoric Man: Researches into the Origin of Civilisation in the Old and the New World* (Wilson 1862).

Daniel Wilson stands out as the first Canadian-based writer to articulate a purely scientific rationale for archaeological endeavour. "[The] object of the intelligent collector," he wrote in the *Canadian Journal*, "is not the mere gratification of an aimless curiosity, or the accumulation of rarities of difficult acquisition, but the preservation of objects calculated to furnish valuable scientific or historic truths" (Wilson 1856:519). Although Wilson undertook little field work himself, he urged others to apply a scientific approach during excavations. In the *Canadian Journal* he outlined the basic principles essential to good excavation, especially the importance of preserving everything unearthed on site and the necessity of a complete description of all sites, including the position of each artifact, no matter how trivial (Wilson 1855:347). Wilson also carried over the scientific method into the analysis of artifacts when he subjected prehistoric copper implements to chemical tests in a laboratory and belied the theory of a long forgotten Indian technology for smelting copper (Wilson 1856a). Wilson's most important research involved osteological studies. In a seminal article published in the *Canadian Journal*, "Brain-Weight and Size in Rela-

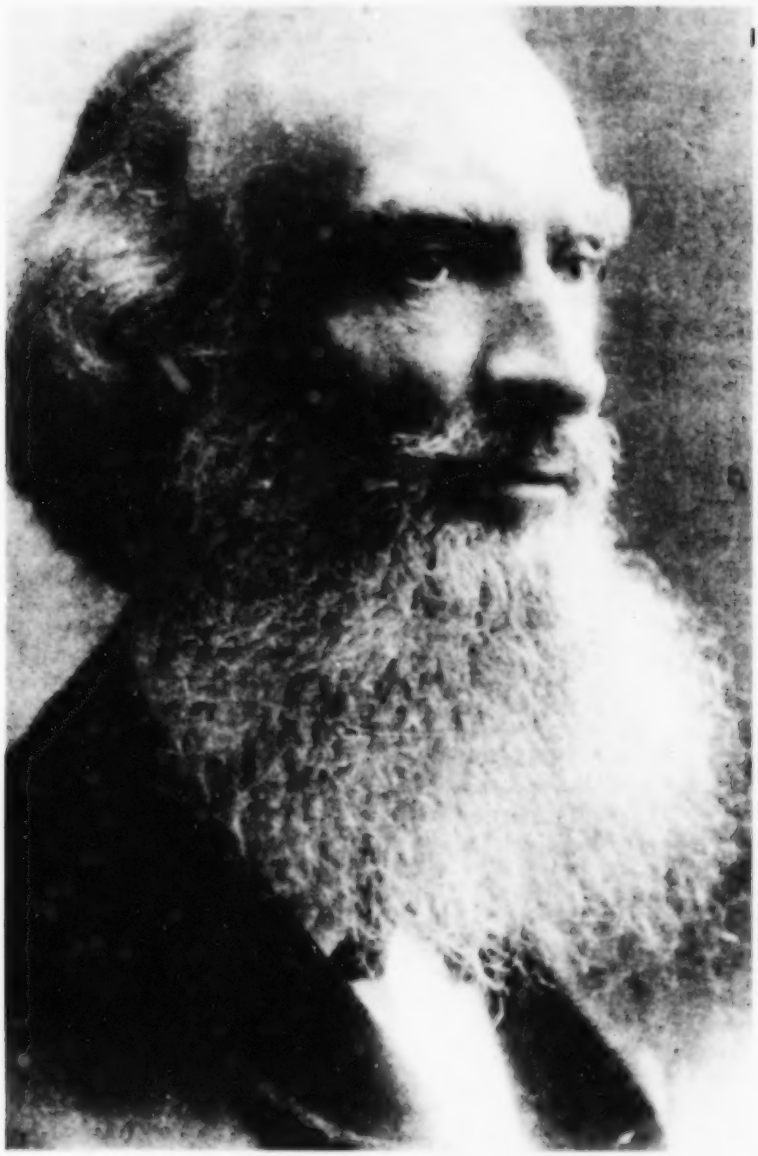

Figure 1. Daniel Wilson (1816–1892). Source: Archives of Ontario.

tion to Relative Capacity of Races," he argued that cranial capacity was not a dependable means for determining the relative intelligence or ability of various races or individuals (Wilson 1876; Trigger 1966:17). In a similar study, he attacked the theory of the "Supposed Prevalence of One Cranial Type Throughout the American Aborigenes," and challenged the idea of the

homogeneity of the North American Indian (Wilson 1857).

Not only did Wilson bring to Ontario archaeology a scientific rationale and methodology, but he opened the pages of the *Canadian Journal* to those influences giving rise of a systematic archaeology on both sides of the Atlantic. The journal regularly featured the writings of eminent European prehistorians, particularly articles supporting the geological proofs of the antiquity of humankind, including Charles Lyell's celebrated defence of Boucher de Perthes's work in the Somme River valley and of the British cave finds (*CJ* 4:496–500). Analytical reviews, sometimes hostile, of major books by Darwin, Huxley, Lyell, and Ernst Haeckel on evolutionary theory were also regular fare (*CJ* 8:378–90, 15:231–48). Under Wilson's direction, the *Canadian Journal* also became the first periodical to record archaeological discoveries and fieldwork in Ontario (Killan 1980:10–11).

All in all, through the *Canadian Journal*, Daniel Wilson had entrenched the concept of archaeology as a science, promoted standards of excavation, and informed his readers of recent findings and theories in Britain, Europe and elsewhere. His influence even extended beyond the confines of Ontario. The great popularizer of archaeology, Sir John Lubbock, would draw extensively upon Wilson's work for his chapter on North American prehistory in his *Prehistoric Times* (7 editions 1865–1913). Moreover, Wilson's *Prehistoric Man* influenced the development of American archaeology since it became a standard text for students of archaeology in the United States (Starr 1892; Trigger 1981).

By 1880, then, a foundation had been laid for the development of a systematic, scientific archaeological tradition in Ontario. The transition from speculation and antiquarianism to a more scientific archaeology had commenced. Notwithstanding Wilson's accomplishments, much remained to be done; Ontario archaeology had merely entered its classificatory-descriptive phase. The province still lacked a major museum collection representative of Ontario prehistory, only a few competent amateurs toiled in the field (Noble 1972:15; Kapches 1994), and no publication was yet devoted primarily to the description, classification, and interpretation of the archaeological record. All of this would change after David Boyle (Figure 2) joined the Canadian Institute in 1884; he would build upon the foundation laid by Fleming, Wilson and the other contributors to the *Canadian Journal* and develop fully the classificatory-descriptive phase of Ontario archaeology with its cautious scientific approach and incipient professionalism.

II

David Boyle was a product of industrial Britain, born in 1842 and raised in the dockside working-class district of Greenock, Scotland. His father, John Boyle, worked as a blacksmith for Caird and Company, one of the great shipbuilding and engineering firms on the Clyde river. In 1853 the Boyles moved to Birkenhead, England, after John obtained employment at the Canada Works, the large engineering complex developed by the firm of Peto, Brassey, Jackson and Betts after it had received the contract to build the Grand Trunk Railway across the Canadas. Young David Boyle's attitudes to life and learning were shaped within the earnest and vibrant culture of artisan autodidacts of which his family was a part. The blacksmith fraternity extolled the ethic of self-improvement and adhered to the creed that knowledge is power and the key to respectability. These values became the fundamental determinants of David's life.

In 1856 David Boyle emigrated with his family to Canada West and himself apprenticed as a blacksmith to his uncle Andrew in Eden Mills, Wellington County. Before he completed his training, however, he knew that he was not suited for a life at the forge; he planned instead to pursue his formal education and become a teacher. Upon finishing his apprenticeship in 1860, he secured a blacksmith's job in Elora in order to attend grammar school. He graduated in July 1864 and obtained a teaching post in the one-room Middlebrook Public School, a few miles west of Elora.

By all accounts, Boyle was a truly gifted pedagogue. He discovered through self-study the child-centred, object-lesson theories of the Swiss educator Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi,

Figure 2. David Boyle (1842–1911).
Source: Archives of Ontario.

and applied them successfully in the classroom. Within six years, in 1871, Boyle obtained the position of principal of the Elora Public School.

During the 1870s in Elora, Boyle's self-improvement ethic and his child-centred educational philosophy fused with his enthusiasm for biology, geology, and archaeology. These new intellectual passions had been stimulated by the world around him — by the natural areas and river valleys of Wellington County, by the rich fossil record in the Elora Gorge, a Middle Silurian formation, and by the Indian artifacts frequently discovered by local farmers and his students. His fascination with archaeology had been sparked as a youngster in Britain by discoveries and excavations in the Near East that had generated great public curiosity in Europe (Killan 1983:11). In his pursuit of these interests, Boyle was instrumental in creating three noteworthy institutions, which stimulated something of an intellectual awakening in the village. In 1871 he helped resurrect the defunct Elora Mechanics' Institute library and oversaw its growth until it was the largest of its kind in Ontario outside Toronto and Hamilton. The library provided him with the opportunity to pursue his abiding interest in the natural and physical sciences, especially Darwinian biology and geology, as well as palaeontology, mineralogy, and archaeology. These years of rigorous, self-imposed study were of critical importance in his intellectual growth.

In 1873, Boyle began establishing a second institution, the Elora School Museum, which by decade's end reputedly possessed one of the best natural history collections in the province. In building up its holdings, he gained experience in public relations and collecting, and a knowledge of current curatorial practices and princi-

ples, all of which would prove invaluable in his later work as a professional archaeologist/curator at the Canadian Institute. Boyle contributed as well to the foundation of the Elora Natural History Society in 1874, which, like the Canadian Institute in Toronto though on a smaller scale, promoted all lines of scientific enquiry and brought the villagers face to face with the unsettling complex of ideas raised by Darwinian thought (Killan 1983, ch. 3).

In December 1881, Boyle retired from teaching. He had been attracted by an offer to work for the Canada Publishing Company promoting the *Royal Canadian Readers* and writing for the *Canada Educational Monthly*. When the Department of Education rejected the readers, Boyle resigned in the fall of 1883. He then moved his family to Toronto and opened Ye Olde Booke Shoppe and Natural Science Exchange. Early in 1884, he joined the Canadian Institute, doubtless at the suggestion of his clients, many of whom were members. At the time, the Institute was entering an expansionist and active phase. Its membership was growing — 236 in 1884, an increase of 139 people over the previous year — and its leadership energetic. Plans were afoot to renovate the third floor of the Richmond Street building for museum purposes. Upon joining the Institute, Boyle donated his archaeological collection to it, a gesture that secured him the voluntary position of curator of its museum. Encouraged, among others, by the corresponding secretary, William Henry Vander Smissen of University College and soon to be president of the Institute, Boyle reissued Sandford Fleming's 1852 circular to begin an inventory of archaeological sites in southern Ontario, solicited donations of specimens, occasionally ventured into the field to excavate promising locations, and lobbied for government funding (Killan 1983:90–100). In 1887, George W. Ross, Ontario's Minister of Education, agreed to subsidize the Institute's archaeological activities to the tune of $1,000 annually in addition to the cost of publishing an annual report. The following year, assured of a modest salary from the provincial subsidy, Boyle sold his bookstore — never profitable in any case — to become Canada's first professional archaeologist.

What David Boyle accomplished for the Canadian Institute and the Province of Ontario over the next decade was nothing short of remarkable considering the level of funding involved. Throughout the period, he continued to develop the site inventory initiated in 1885. Beginning in 1887, he issued the first *Annual Archaeological Report for Ontario* (*ARO*). In his widely-distributed reports, he enjoined readers, particularly agriculturalists, to send him information about new sites, and to donate any artifacts they might have found. To encourage local collectors to explore their communities systematically, he undertook for their instruction, a model township site inventory. Lot by lot, concession by concession, Boyle surveyed all of Nottawasaga Township in Simcoe County, the home of the Petun or Tobacco people, and mapped and documented all the sites he discovered (*ARO* 1888–9:9–11).

This model field work served its purpose by encouraging others to follow suit. In Simcoe County, Andrew F. Hunter, editor of the Barrie *Examiner*, took it upon himself to locate all the sites of Huronia. By 1889 he had documented some 400 village sites and ossuaries in Simcoe and adjacent York and Ontario counties and had begun to interpret the results (*ARO* 1889–9:42–6). George Laidlaw, a livestock farmer on Balsam Lake, undertook similar work in Victoria County. Thomas W. Beeman did likewise in eastern Ontario, particularly along the shoreline of Rideau Lake in Lanark and Leeds. Later, encouraged by Boyle, young William J. Wintemberg vigorously pursued the archaeology of Waterloo County. Hunter, Laidlaw, Beeman and others responded enthusiastically to the encouragement and opportunities extended to them by Boyle. They did yeoman work in the field after he promised to publish their findings in the *ARO*s and to display and acknowledge their donations of artifacts in the Canadian Institute's museum. These individuals were a new breed of amateur archaeologist. Boyle proudly described them as people of "true scientific instinct," not mere antiquarian collectors, but serious students who conscientiously read widely in the archaeological literature, and who attempted to place their findings in context (*ARO* 1890–1:6, 1891:5).

In addition to developing a provincial site inventory, to Boyle must go the credit for discovering and/or initially investigating many of the province's classic archaeological locations including the prehistoric Neutral Lawson site in Middlesex County (*ARO* 1894–5:35–7), the historic Neutral Point Abino site in Welland (*ARO* 1890–1:124, 126), the Southwold earthworks in Elgin (*ARO* 1890–1:10), the Bon Echo pictographs in Frontenac (*ARO* 1894–5:44–8), and the Rice Lake–Trent River Middle–Woodland burial mound groups, including the Serpent Mounds, in Peterborough County (*ARO* 1896–7:19–26).

David Boyle undertook a vastly greater amount of fieldwork in Ontario than had ever been conducted before. His excavation techniques and his interpretation of data compared favourably with the best work of his peers in North America. Although by modern standards, of course, his efforts seem rudimentary. Typically, he would only spend a day or two trenching a site with a spade. Still, his methods were a marked advance over the work of any of his predecessors. His procedures were scientific in intent. Invariably, he carefully recorded the main natural and archaeological features of each site, and the surrounding landscape, and made rough measurements and sketches of the same. At each stage of every dig, he wrote an accurate description of his findings and noted the provenience data for every artifact. He was, it must be emphasized, the first person in the history of Ontario archaeology to record and to publish a systematic record of his excavation procedures and his findings. His descriptive analyses, moreover, were largely devoid of speculative thinking. His conclusions were informed and based on a wide knowledge of natural science, geology, and current archaeological theory and knowledge.

The best example of his excavation technique and interpretation of the data occurred at the Clearville site in Kent County in 1889. His field work here ranks among the best of its kind in Canada prior to the First World War. After three days of digging and analysis, Boyle was able to determine that the site was occupied at widely separated periods, by at least two, possibly three, different groups. He recognized stratigraphy and distinguished between pottery styles and was thus able to determine a rough occupational sequence for the site (*ARO* 1888–9:15–18). What Boyle excavated at Clearville, we now know, was a multi-component ancestral prehistoric Neutral village of the Late Woodland period, circa A.D. 1500, a site inhabited off and on by its various occupants for about one hundred years. In 1889, no one could have drawn such conclusions. Boyle and his contemporaries had no sense of the time-depth of Ontario pre-history. Lacking 20th-century refinements in stratigraphical analysis, the carbon-14 method of chronometric dating, and concepts of cultural units, local sequence, tradition, and horizon, he could not overcome problems of dating sites or identifying inhabitants.

David Boyle's *Annual Archaeological Reports* for the Canadian Institute, which first appeared in 1887, proved to be of enormous significance. Collectively, these reports today comprise the first periodical in Canada devoted primarily to archaeology; they also included valuable anthropological and ethnological material. The reports served a variety of purposes. Most importantly, they were an indispensable reference source facilitating comparative study, artifact analysis, and interpretation of past cultures. Beyond that, the *ARO*s were written for general consumption and therefore educated a wider public in matters archaeological. Boyle also intended them to stimulate the birth of a conscience among Ontarians about the exportation of archaeological and ethnological materials to foreign museums.

The *ARO*s also became the ideal medium by which Boyle could establish permanent lines of communication with professional archaeologists and curators elsewhere. Confident of the journal's quality, he exchanged publications (and eventually artifacts) with individuals, agencies and museums across North America, as well as in Britain and Europe.

During his tenure at the Canadian Institute, Boyle was occasionally called upon by the provincial government to serve as a geological consultant. He was recruited to help collect, design, and arrange the Ontario mining exhibit at the Centennial Exposition of the Ohio Valley and Central States in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1888; to

organize a geological exhibit for the Imperial Institute in London, England, in 1892; and to prepare the geological and archaeological displays for the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. At the Columbian Exposition, his archaeological display based on the Canadian Institute collection secured honours second only to the Smithsonian — a prize diploma and a medal of excellence (Killan 1983:112–14, 136–43).

The sojourns in Cincinnati and Chicago had an important side benefit: they allowed Boyle to expand his personal contacts with the leading figures in North American archaeology and anthropology. Since the meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in 1889 in Toronto, where he first met many of his American counterparts, Boyle had assiduously cultivated his colleagues to the south in order to exchange artifacts and publications, as well as to discuss theories and information. Boyle's work came to be highly regarded by the Americans. The *ARO*s were favourably reviewed in the most prestigious journals and their contents would be incorporated into major syntheses, such as William Henry Holme's "Aboriginal Pottery of the Eastern United States" (1903), Stewart Culin's "Games of the North American Indians" (1907), and Frederick Webb Hodge's *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (1907–10), all published in Washington by the Smithsonian Institution's Bureau of American Ethnology.

Boyle's museum and curatorial talents were also well regarded by his American peers (Royal Ontario Museum: Department of Ethnology, copy of Register of the Canadian Institute Museum). His success as a curator can be attributed to a happy blend of common sense and careful study of practices in the leading museums in the United States and Britain. European classification policy based on the Three Age System, he recognized, had no application in North America. Because he lacked understanding of the chronology of Amerindian prehistory, or of time-depth or culture sequence, like all American archaeologists during this period, Boyle adopted a classification scheme that was essentially descriptive taxonomy. Rather than grouping his specimens within cultural frameworks, he sorted out each type of artifact — flints, banner stones, pipes, pottery, etc. — then grouped the same specimens for all areas. He applied the evolutionary principle by arranging his material in typological sequences from the rudest to the most elegant. Such an evolutionary bias was typical of late Victorian archaeologists who conceived of prehistory, indeed all human history, as a record of progress and evolution from savagery, through barbarism to civilization. Again, this all seems rudimentary by modern curatorial standards but in the context of the late nineteenth century, it was no small thing that a museum curator in Ontario was finally heading in a scientific direction by handling his collection of archaeological artifacts in a systematic, objective, if only descriptive fashion.

As a result of deteriorating relations, David Boyle left the Canadian Institute and his curatorship in 1895. By this time, the archaeological collection had outgrown the limited quarters at the Institute building on Richmond Street and it was slated to be transferred to the Ontario Provincial Museum in the Toronto Normal School. Minister of Education George Ross had also terminated the annual archaeological grant. In November 1896, Boyle was formally appointed curator of the Ontario Provincial Museum's archaeology department; eventually he was promoted superintendent of the entire museum in 1901.

With the removal of the archaeological collection to the provincial museum, the Canadian Institute's role in archaeology came to an abrupt end. That role had been of enormous value. For some forty-five years, its members had nurtured the development of an Ontario archaeological tradition. Through the Institute, Daniel Wilson had laid the foundation for the classificatory-descriptive phase of Ontario archaeology by promoting a scientific approach to archaeological endeavour, and by using the *Canadian Journal* to introduce Ontario's intelligentsia to the ideas giving rise to a scientific archaeology elsewhere. For his part, David Boyle, as curator of the Canadian Institute Museum, built upon Wilson's pioneering efforts. From 1887 to his death in 1911, Boyle stood out both as Canada's preeminent archaeologist and as the most influential figure in Ontario archaeology by shaping and overseeing its classificatory-descriptive phase.

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Chapter 3

Women in Early Ontario Archaeology: Reclaiming Voices

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Abstract
This paper surveys the contributions of women to the theory and practice of archaeology during the past century and examines reasons for their relative obscurity in the oral and written histories of our discipline.

Résumé
Ce papier est une enquête des contributions des femmes au développement de la théorie et de la pratique de l'archéologie depuis le dernier siècle; il examine les raisons pourquoi ces développements ne sont pas courantes dans les histoires orales et écrites de notre discipline.

Bringing Back the Past: Historical Perspectives on Canadian Archaeology, edited by P.J. Smith and D. Mitchell.
Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, Archaeological Survey of Canada, Mercury Series No. 158, 1998:25–38

> A little time ago, Major John Barnett addressed the Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto. It would be very much worth while, he said, for members of women's historical organizations to delve into the past and throw light on the characters and achievements of members of their own sex. 'Outside of a few literary women, such as Mrs. Jamieson, and a heroine, such as Laura Secord, it is difficult to find anywhere even bare outlines of the lives and characters of pioneer women in this Province'... We commend Major Barnett's suggestion to all women interested in our history.
>
> *Anonymous 1950. "For women only" Ontario History XLII(2):169–170*

Introduction

This paper deals with the anthropology of archaeology, the study of science as culture and, in particular, the nature of gender roles within that culture. "Like any culture or subculture, our profession has created a body of myths, legends, and culture heroes serving to generate a self image," one which "meshes nicely with the traditional Euro-American image of males" (Woodall and Perricone 1981:506). A similar condescending attitude appears in the quote at the beginning of this paper: women require some special justification for taking an interest in "our history." Despite some notable exceptions, Canadian archaeology before 1960 was perceived as almost exclusively male.

We are curious about this perception. In our experience women study archaeology for the same reasons as men do: an affirmation of history, admiration for artists and artisans of the past, respect for the people — Native Canadians and colonists — who walked these lands before us, and the excitement of discovery. For these and other reasons, women have always been part of archaeology in Canada.

Our investigation addresses one significant Canadian context, early Ontario archaeology. At an early date, in this province, archaeology gained prestige and international recognition which led to its establishment as a formal discipline. Although women, as excavators, curators, and financiers, played key roles in the development of professional and avocational archaeology in Ontario, their involvement has generally been overlooked or downplayed by an historical focus on the "founding fathers" of the field. It is our goal to reclaim for women those voices which have historically been denied to them (Keller 1987:237; Conkey and Gero 1991:6). Why should women not have participated in Canadian archaeology before 1960? If they did so, why are their contributions unrecognized? What are these contributions of women to early Ontario archaeology? Finally, what do the answers to these questions, with their suggestion of implicit androcentrism in archaeology, imply for young women considering a career in archaeology today?

By revealing the participation of women in early Ontario archaeology, we hope to contribute to the ongoing dialogue on the nature of gender roles and gender ideologies in archaeology and their change through time. In addition, our study contributes, in a modest way, to the theoretical discourse on the socio-politics of archaeology (*cf.* Gero *et al.* 1983) whereby discipline and knowledge are shaped by the social, political, and gendered contexts of practice. It is our contention that archaeology has never been a strictly "male" endeavour but has historically been "gendered" male by the socio-political forces that have served to restrict active involvement by women. Thus, we agree with Gero's (1983:55) suggestion that there has been a "gender loading of what the job entails — MEN make the job male."

Women and Early Ontario Archaeology

As part of current research tradition that seeks to reinstate women into the history of archaeology (Levine 1994:23; Claassen 1994; Nelson *et al.* 1994) this paper insists that "although women are absent for much of the literature on the early history of Americanist archaeology, they have been contributing to the development of the profession for over a century" (Levine 1994:24). Yet, to say that the foundations of Ontario prehistoric archaeology before 1960 are profoundly male-biased is not a political statement; it is a simple and easily verified truth (Anderson 1991; Latta 1988; Noble 1975). Less frequently acknowledged is the fact that many men archaeologists worked with women — wives, daughters, and friends — whose often unrecognized labours contributed to their success.

Since women's words, contributions, and lives are quite often embedded within an "unreliable" and "emotive" oral tradition (Levine 1994:9) it is now essential they be documented as a public and legitimate part of "our history." In order to do so, several sources of information need to be employed. For early periods we must turn to scholarly journals and publications. Personal narratives given by many women archaeologists provide the bulk of our account and, together with biographical notes, allow us to see "some of the ways in which person, discipline, and society articulate in particular ways at particular times to create science and scholarship" (Gacs *et al.* 1989:xvi in Claassen 1994:2). The words of women in early Ontario archaeology, as you will see, help us to avoid imposing our own understanding of women's experiences during different historical periods. We are grateful to these women for their wisdom, their advice and their leadership.

What, then, are the contributions of women in Ontario archaeology? We have divided the history of Ontario archaeology, and women's activities therein, into four sections: "Lady Scholars" (1891-1913), "Dark Ages" (1914-1938), "Renaissance" (1939-1960) and "Enlightenment" (1960 to present).

Lady Scholars (1891–1913)

Many Victorian women led active and independent lives. The concept of the educated lady as a pillar of society typically involved active interests in the "fine arts" — music, drawing and painting, literature, and history. They were inspired by literary pioneer women such as Susanna Moodie and Catherine Parr Traill. Native women authors such as Pauline Johnson *Tekahionwaki* chronicled the lives of contemporary First Nations as descendants of heroic and noble races, far different from the earlier myth of murderous savages (Van Steen 1965).

An important window into the late 19th century archaeology is provided by the *Annual Archaeological Reports* of the Canadian Institute (later, the Ontario Provincial Museum), issued between 1892 and 1913 as appendices to the report of the Provincial Minister for Eduction. These works are a treasure trove of site surveys and artifact descriptions. David Boyle, the director of the Provincial Museum, drew upon a group of young, enthusiastic assistants to evaluate the heritage resources of the province (or at least, the southern part of the province) before massive development put them at risk. Women appear only sporadically in the AAROs (as they were called), but these appearances confirm that opportunities existed for women to participate fully in the archaeology of the day.

In the first volume of the *Annual Archaeological Reports of Ontario*, 1891, Dr. Susanna P. Boyle's detailed article on "Cranial measurements" (Boyle 1892) represents the first anthropological publication by a woman in Ontario. In her preface, Dr. Boyle notes that she and her colleague, Dr. Letitia Meade of Hamilton, had been asked (presumably by Dr. Boyle's father) to carry out the analysis of human skeletal remains in the museum collections. Susanna studied medicine and held the position of Demonstrator of Anatomy at the Toronto Women's Medical College.

There are scattered references to female archaeologists in subsequent volumes of the AARO's. Miss Elizabeth Peace Thompson of Connington, for example, donated "one large, thin and very fine gorget — two holes" (AARO 1894-95:16) and Mrs. Minnie Graburn of Middlesex donated several gorgets, bird amulets, bannerstones, and stone adzes (AARO 1913:90). Mrs. Wm. Stuart sent "Notes on some Mexican relics" (AARO 1900:152-163), with detailed illustrations. We would like to learn more about Mrs. Peter McLaren who ". . . often placed her steam yacht, the `Geraldine' at . . . " the disposal of Dr. T. W. Beeman of Perth, one of Boyle's site hunters (Killan 1983:154). The report does not indicate whether Mrs. McLaren accompanied Dr. Beeman on his surveys of the Rideau Lakes region.

Helen M. Merrill was the first woman to write about her involvement in Ontario archaeology. In "Indian Pottery of Prince Edward County" (AARO 1912:75-82), Helen Merrill (unu..ually, for her day, she was not labelled either Miss or Mrs.) wrote a breezy description of her own archaeological method and theory:

> Few pastimes have I found as interesting as that of collecting Indian pottery, particularly where white drifting sandhills range in wild beauty and fascinating loneliness from West point to Wellington, in Prince Edward County . . . .
>
> Near Wellington is an outlet which, changing from year to year and with the seasons, is not always easily forded. Once I ventured to cross it. My horse was a young thoroughbred. The road led precipitously into two feet of flowing water.
>
> Near the shore and close by the wood at West Point where the hills begin . . . our attention was attracted a few years ago to several sherds. Appropriating them we searched in the sands, digging with small pieces of driftwood. More were found and we returned at intervals, sometimes following a heavy wind which was likely to uncover a few good specimens which gave hints as to the location of others.
>
> To-day the store seems to be exhausted. Little more remains than traces of an ash-bed which indicates the site, possibly, of a lodge or other habitation, or of an open-air kiln.

> As to the potter, a history of Indian occupation of Prince Edward County and vicinity, together with a careful study of archaeological material found at various points might be of avail in tracing him (sic). For some time it has seemed to me that there should be compiled a history on Indian occupation of Ontario by a series of maps as well as by text which would cite not only notes by early explorers and missionaries, but odds and ends of data which may be gleaned from Indian traditions.

The *Annual Archaeological Reports of Ontario* show that lady scholars were actively involved in archaeology between 1892 and 1913. Women were writing and publishing under their own names, and their contributions were accorded the same recognition as those of their male colleagues.

One key to this success was servants. In the 19th century and before, most middle- and all upper-class homes had servants who carried out much of the routine supervisory and maintenance work. Up to the beginning of World War I, educated women had greater freedom of movement, based on shared responsibility for the home, than they did in the next fifty years. Nevertheless, the reliance upon household help placed a financial requirement on the activities of Lady Scholars.

This requirement applied to men as well, of course: Reyman suggests that, from early times, archaeology was deemed a "rich man's profession." A woman with few resources was doubly penalized in the 19th century: both sex and wealth were likely to limit her scholarly opportunities (Reyman 1994:84, 86). Where financial and personal resources were sufficient, women became active participants in the archaeology of the time.

Consider, for example, the experiences of contemporary Lady Scholars in the American Southwest such as Mary Hemenway who, in 1886, funded expeditions by providing a substantial endowment for travel costs, excavation, artifact curation, and publication of research results (Levine 1994:24). Women were financial patrons at many late 19th century museums (Rossiter 1982:59). In Ontario and elsewhere, affluence enabled Lady Scholars to achieve their chosen careers and avocations.

Dark Ages (1914–1938)

The onset of World War I brought profound changes in social patterns. Men were withdrawn from the labour force, and women moved rapidly from low-paid domestic employment to the high wages of factories and public service industries. In the Great Depression which followed the war, there was little money for archaeology and the few opportunities for professional employment were automatically reserved for men who needed work to support their families. It was an unmarked irony that prominent male archaeologists of this period such as Andrew Hunter, William Wintemburg, and (at that time) Wilfrid Jury were unmarried and had no families to support.

As in the medieval Dark Ages of Europe, this period in Ontario archaeology is characterized by its dearth of information. The *Annual Archaeological Reports of Ontario* ceased publication in 1912 when the Provincial Museum became incorporated into the nascent Royal Ontario Museum. Provincial archaeology continued through the fieldwork of William Wintemberg, at the Victoria Memorial Museum of the Geological Survey of Canada.

Some comparisons may be drawn from *Ontario History*, which has published annually between 1899 and the present. Its articles deal with history rather than archaeology, but the journal helps to illustrate the pattern of women's exclusion from the academic and scientific world of the Dark Ages:

1901 to 1915 — articles by women make up 33 to 50% of the journal's contents
1916 to 1919 — the war years — 20–30% of articles were written by women
1920 to 1937 — less than 10% of the articles in any annual issue were written by women, and five volumes have none at all

There undoubtedly were women archaeologists during the Dark Ages, but none appears to

have received any formal recognition. During this period, women were afforded few career opportunities but many were obtaining valuable training and education that would lay the foundation for their participation in the archaeology of later decades.

Renaissance (1939–1960)

In contrast to the World War I years, archaeology not only continued but expanded during World War II. It was a source of national pride and strength, particularly in its focus on stalwart historical figures such as Champlain and the Jesuit martyrs. As men were drawn into military service, women moved in to take an increasingly active role in highly visible projects such as Ste. Marie I, in Midland. We present some experiences of four women who became respected figures: Margaret Thomson Tushingham, Elsie McLeod Jury, Martha Ann Kidd and Ruth Marshall Tovell. Except where noted, quoted passages and other details are taken from our interviews.

Margaret Tushingham

> I had always been interested in archaeology and I wrote little articles in school. So at the age of eighteen, I walked myself down to the museum (the ROM) and made an appointment to see Dr. Currelly. He asked me a few questions, walked around the gallery with me and said, 'Come back when you know how to type.' This was September, 1939; the war had just started. So I took a three-month course in one month and went back and he said, 'I can't pay you anything.' So I said, 'I understand that.' They had just let a lot of people go and things were in a turmoil.

She began work as assistant to Dr. Homer A. Thompson, Keeper of the Greek and Roman Department, who inspired her with an enduring love for Mediterranean archaeology. In 1947, she worked with Dr. Thompson at the Agora in Athens, where he was Director of excavations. Later, dividing her time between Greek and Roman, and the Department of Ethnology, she ran the academic program which would later become the Department of Anthropology at the University of Toronto. Maggie recounts a conversation with Bill Taylor at a National Museum event, many years later:

> Bill said, 'There's a girl at the ROM who influenced my life, and I've never been able to track her down. All I can remember is that her name is Maggie.' And I said, 'Secretary to Mr. McIllwraith, who registered you for your courses and saw you three or four times a week?', and he said 'Where is she?', and I said 'It's me!' And he said 'Oh, what you've put me through all these years.' He was a good student.

As an employee of the ROM, Maggie Thomson worked at Ste. Marie for two summers — three months at a time — in 1941 and 1942 under the direction of Kenneth Kidd. Here she met Douglas Tushingham, her future husband. She also excavated at the Warminster site and ossuary with T. F. McIlwraith and at the Soper site, where she was Douglas's first field boss.

Maggie's parents — Henry and Margaret Thomson — visited their daughter at Ste. Marie and became interested in Huron archaeology. They discovered Andrew Hunter's early surveys of Huron sites and joined in the hunt for sites of the 17th century Jesuit missions. They later purchased part of a site which is presently the home for the University of Toronto Field School. Margaret and Henry Thomson continued excavating the kitchen middens on their property and donated all the material to the ROM, the largest such gift in the museum's records.

Maggie and Doug Tushingham were married in 1948, and went to the University of Chicago, where Doug was teaching. At that institution, Maggie worked with Dr. Oscar Broneer, the great archaeologist of Corinth, to create a Museum of Classical Archaeology. The University of Chicago sent Doug Tushingham out to the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, and Maggie accompanied him. Doug, now Director of the School, and Maggie stayed here for more than three years, leaving their young daughter with Maggie's parents in Toronto. Nearly three years later, their son was born in

Jerusalem and Maggie's mother brought their daughter out to join them. All travel was by boat in those days, and could take weeks. When she arrived, Margaret Thomson took Maggie's place at the excavations at Dhiban in Transjordan, while Maggie ran the School in Jerusalem and looked after their new son. At the age of 60, Margaret climbed the steep hills of Dhiban and joined in the excavations. She was a wonderful excavator, very careful, and she loved every minute of it. Women got along very well with the local men in the field crew on the dig in those days.

The Tushinghams became involved in many excavation projects mounted by the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem. For three months in 1951 Maggie dug for the American School in Jerusalem at New Testament Jericho. Maggie dug at Old Testament Jericho, under Dame Kathleen Kenyon between 1952-56. She worked with Doug in his Jerusalem project during 1962-67 and in Teheran, on the Crown Jewels project, 1967-68. They had been glad to return to Canada in 1953, first to Queens University and then in 1955 to the ROM in Toronto. While Doug was involved in administration as well as excavation, Maggie sorted and organized the type collection of ceramic sherds from Jerusalem — tons of them — in the Long Room, later called the David Boyle Room, the lab to become the heart of the Departments of Ethnology and New World Archaeology. Her ceramic sequences — still in print — are among the longest and best documented in Palestinian archaeology and Doug's Jerusalem publication remains a basic source for archaeology in the Holy Land.

Elsie McLeod Jury

Elsie McLeod Jury's publications provide an outline of a vigorous and creative archaeological career.[1] Elsie Jury received a B.A. in English and History from the Ontario Ladies College, M.A. in History from Columbia University, and a Library Science degree from the University of Toronto. She subsequently worked in the reference libraries at the Toronto Public Library and the Lawson Library at the University of Western Ontario, and in the Canadian Library Association office in Ottawa. During this time, she wrote the entry on the 17th century Indians for *The Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, served as the first editor for *Western Ontario Historical Notes and Western Ontario History Nuggets*, wrote a regular column for the *London Free Press*, and edited a new edition of Mrs. Anna Jameson's book, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada* (Jameson 1943).

Elsie McLeod Murray was an active member of the Ontario Historical Society, serving on its Executive council in 1944 and publishing an article in *Ontario History* in the same year. Her interest in history and Native people brought her into contact with Wilfrid Jury, a public-school drop-out and a "do-it-yourself scholar" who is credited with "intuitive archaeological judgement and immense knowledge of its technology" (Shervill 1978:97).

As an archivist, historian, editor, and author, Elsie provided the written and investigatory skills that Wilfrid lacked. His early publications cite ". . . the editorial work . . . done by Miss Elsie M. Murray". After their marriage in 1948, these notes become more personal: "Elsie McLeod Jury has assisted greatly throughout and has edited this publication" (Jury 1948) and "I am deeply indebted to my wife, Elsie McLeod Jury, for her work in the planning and compilation of this bulletin" (Jury 1949).

From 1952 on, Elsie Jury was formally recognized as co-author of Wilfrid's publications on *The Burley Site* (1952), *Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons* (1954), *Saint Louis* (1955) and *The Hurons* (1960). Finally, in 1959, Elsie's historical work took precedence in *The Establishment at Penetanguishene: Bastion of the North, 1814-1856*, which included an archaeological addendum by Wilfrid Jury. She continued her own publications with articles on Huronia (Jury 1962, 1965) and on the Neutral of Southwestern Ontario (Jury 1974).

If "Wilf was a man of intuition, a man of the earth . . . [then] Elsie put it into words for him," (Shervill, cited in Gibb 1990:26). Elsie gathered archival material from around the world for use in both the Penetanguishene Naval Establishments and Huron historical sites investigations. Jury would "record all the finds with his Leica

1. Unfortunately, Elsie Jury's personal papers could not be accessed for this study.

camera while Elsie Jury kept detailed field notes and catalogued the artifacts . . . . His intuitions were very often confirmed by Elsie Jury's primary research" (Gibb 1990:27).

In 1973, Elsie McLeod Jury was awarded an honourary Doctor of Laws degree by the University of Western Ontario, three years after the same degree was presented to her husband. Up until her death in 1993, Elsie acted as an Honourary Director of the London Museum of Archaeology, where she spent much of her career alongside Wilfrid as associate curator.

Martha Ann Kidd

Martha Ann Maurer was born in Cleveland, Ohio, and earned her B.A. and M.A. degrees at the University of Chicago's Art Institute. Her goal, from her earliest memories, was to be an artist or perhaps an art teacher. Historic architecture fascinated her also:

> Even as a small child, I was with my Grandmother in Fostoria, the summer before I was five, and I was intrigued by my great uncle's house that my great grandfather had built, because it didn't belong in Fostoria. And I couldn't figure out why until I moved up here and it's pure Ontario Gothic! He had built it for his Canadian bride! And, even then, I recognized it as being different. But I think that recognition of things like this was one thing that interested me in archaeology, too . . . . Then, of course, mother and daddy always took us, when we were on trips we always took in all the sites like, throughout Ohio, the Serpent Mounds and Fort Ancient and all those places.

In her last year at the University of Chicago, Martha met an enthusiastic young Canadian archaeologist named Kenneth Kidd, and they were married in 1943. Martha Kidd found herself drawn into Ken's work.

> I didn't come into the picture until after Ste. Marie [but] we were up one summer, the summer after we were married and we spent several weeks up there, taking notes and doing, you know, hard little things . . . . But he wrote me long letters telling me about it.

The Ste. Marie field crews consisted largely of women, she remembers, because men were all involved in the war effort. Martha's first real dig was Ossossane, in 1947 and 1948.

> I was basically the photographer and digger and, shall we say, PR. We all dug. The crew at Ossossane consisted of four women and four men. Bill Taylor was at Ossossane. That's where he cut his archaeological teeth. Ken and I considered Bill a very close friend all of our lives. I miss Bill terribly.
>
> At Ossossane, things were discussed and worked out very informally at mealtimes. Ken would lead them but generally, they worked as a team. The first year we lived at what is now the Midland Museum, in the servants' quarters. We got fed breakfast and dinner there. The second year we lived in tents. I didn't do any of the cooking — a cook was hired for that. Paul Sweetman and the cook did the grocery shopping together . . . in those days, of course, they didn't get paid; nobody got paid. If you got your room and board, you were lucky. There wasn't the money. I think if we had $1500 for the summer, that was more than some people got, and so you had to make it last.

While they were at Ossossane, Martha and Ken visited many of the other sites in the area. T.F. McIlwraith had already begun his work at the Warminster Site which he identified with Champlain's Cahiagué.

At that time there weren't too many women studying archaeology. Maggie Tushingham had left the ROM for Chicago and Palestine.

> Mary MacPherson, who became Mary Lukes, was Ken's secretary and she would sometimes go out on excavations. And later, Helen Devereux was Ken's secretary and she wanted to do archaeology very

> badly so she studied while she was Ken's secretary and then went on and got her Masters; she was more interested in archaeology than she was in being a secretary. But it was still very, very difficult for women to take a leading part in actual archaeology.

In 1952, Martha took over the analysis of the glass beads from Ste. Marie:

> I collected [the beads] and recorded them and also made notes and drawings. In those days, before the days of photocopying, everything had to be written down. We bought what they called a camera obscura which was a light box that would copy things onto photographic paper, and we did piles of those. I had to go home at night and develop them into a negative that you could make a positive of or read on a light table. Of course, we copied a lot in longhand. Think of modern notebooks and copy machines; if we'd only had something like that! And drawings by the hundreds.
>
> It was the beads that were my specialty. Ken was colour blind so he said, 'Well you have to do the beads.' We were wondering how to present the data and Ken said, 'What about doing it in the way they classify plants in biology?' and that sort of triggered something. I worked on the idea for almost two years and worked out, oh I would say, at least a half a dozen different schemes before I got the idea of focusing on the manufacturing process. Everything begins with the simplest tube bead and works out from there. I consulted with Ken, of course, and discussed it with him, but basically the classification was mine.

The bead study was a long time coming out:

> Corning had the rights to Ken's notes on the history of beads. Somebody from the National Museum was down there at the time of the flood helping them sort out the library and saw this manuscript and said 'Hey, what about this?'. So they released it to the National Museum and that's how that got published (Kidd and Kidd 1970).

> The Cartier Brebuef site . . . was our last actual dig. It was at that time that the Quebec Archaeological Society was founded. They came out to the site. George MacDonald was there and so was Helen Devereux.

In 1963, Ken accepted an appointment at Trent University and Martha went back to her first love, architectural history. Even before *The Ontario Heritage Act* was passed, she had begun to organize a historic preservation group which became the Peterborough Architectural Conservation Advisory Council. In 1990, Trent University conferred degrees of Doctor of Laws *honoris causa* on Kenneth and Martha Ann Kidd, the first wife-husband team to be so honoured. In June, 1993, she received the Commemorative Medal for the 125th Anniversary of the Confederation of Canada. Perhaps the most valued honour was one which Martha Kidd received in April of this year: the Lifetime Achievement Award from the Peterborough Architectural Conservation Advisory Council.

Ruth Marshall Tovell and the Ontario Archaeological Society

A crucial event for women's participation in Ontario archaeology was the foundation of the Ontario Archaeological Society under the leadership of J. Norman Emerson, then a graduate student at the University of Chicago and an affiliate of T. F. McIlwraith at the Royal Ontario Museum. In the late 1940s, Emerson gave public lectures, taught evening classes on archaeology, and organized public excavations — the first organized field school in Ontario — all designed to invite the collaboration of the amateur archaeological community. In the fall of 1949, a group of students in his class "Ontario Before Champlain" met to create a permanent vehicle for local archaeology: The Ontario Archaeological Society. With the establishment of

Ontario Archaeology in 1953 and the newsletter, *Arch Notes*, in 1955, Ontario archaeology moved into the modern world.

Ruth Marshall was a member of Emerson's 1949 class and a founding member of the Ontario Archaeological Society (OAS). "Many of my memories are of 'digs' and 'things.' As a result of early experience gained under the aegis of the late J. Norman Emerson in 1948-1949, and in addition to the Society's own digs, interested members became involved in excavations, not only of the University of Toronto, but also of the National Museum of Canada" ([Marshall]/ Tovell 1990).

Ruth Marshall was elected the first woman president of the OAS in 1956. "I ran for President in 1956 because there appeared to be an urgent need for Executive continuity in that position — someone with a deep interest in and a knowledge of the aims and potential of the OAS. At that time, the general membership seemed more interested in attending meetings than in working towards an active archaeological organization involved with field activities" ([Marshall] Tovell 1990). Ruth set out to change this orientation.

She notes with pride that OAS members formed a substantial part of the crew at the Sheguindah Site, Manitoulin Island, and at the Ault Park Site, near Cornwall. "Then, too, there was Hurricane Hazel in October, 1954, preventing us from reaching our designated site on the Humber River" ([Marshall] Tovell 1990). Her report on OAS excavations at the Fletcher Site (Marshall 1962) is the first archaeological field report to be published in Ontario under the name of a woman, without a male associate. Ruth was instrumental in the creation of the Society's newsletter *Arch Notes* and in 1956 became its first official editor, initially without financial assistance. Her interest in Ontario archaeology continued until her recent death.

Many women like Ruth Tovell participated in archaeology through OAS excavations. The wives and children of two early OAS Presidents — John M. Sinclair and Frank B. Mee — joined in on many digs and were themselves OAS members. Phyllis Bowland, a public school teacher and active avocational archaeologist who once worked for Dr. Homer Thompson in the Agora Museum in Athens, participated in every society dig for at least ten years.

These women of the "Renaissance" are representatives of a general trend in the province of Ontario. During this period, women moved from marginal roles to full participation in the growing field of archaeology, both in Ontario and abroad. That the achievements of their husbands and teachers would have been difficult, perhaps impossible, without their contribution is generally accepted without much comment among Ontario archaeologists. This seems inadequate. These women archaeologists espoused a philosophy of cooperation for mutual gain rather than competitive and potentially destructive individualism. Their enthusiasm and energy remains an inspiration to those who follow.

Enlightenment (1960–present)

As Canada's economic and social horizons widened in the 1960s, young women in growing numbers looked toward careers in archaeology. No longer satisfied with being assistants in their husband's expeditions, they began to carry out research and to publish their conclusions in their own right. The growth of university programs, of the Ontario Archaeological Society and the private consulting industry offered unprecedented opportunities for women in Ontario.

Women such as Helen Devereux and Joan Vastokas joined university faculties. Amateurs Phyllis Bowland, Joyce Holloway, and Lorna Procter helped to guide the OAS. J. N. Emerson noted that, in 1970, the OAS consisted of 48 male members and 34 female members, a complement which he describes as "continuing to soar to a new high."

Some demographics of the OAS provide a profile of women's involvement since its beginnings. Between 1951 and 1985, 32 of 35 (91.4%) acting Secretaries (both Corresponding and Recording) were women. In contrast, only 4 of 16 Treasurers (25%) and 4 of 20 (20%) Presidents were women. These statistics suggest that while women were actively involved in the Society they more often took on more traditional secretarial roles than ones with more authority and prestige.

Summary

Why should women not have participated in Canadian archaeology before 1960?

Throughout the period 1892 to 1960, there is no evidence of active impediments to women's involvement in Ontario archaeology. Our survey has shown that while men outnumbered women in participation and scholarly publications, women were active members of early archaeological communities in Ontario. We know women were not inhibited from doing archaeology because they were incapable or "too feminine." The macho images of the archaeologist-as-adventurer which project from early historical accounts are also echoed by Helen Merrill who traversed rivers on horseback and by Mrs. Peter McLaren who yachted in the Rideau Lakes region.

The early promise of the Lady Scholars was lost in the political and economic changes of the Dark Ages. Why?

1 The disappearance of servants after 1914 restricted the mobility of the average married woman, particularly because of pregnancy and childcare responsibilities. Neither Elsie Jury nor Martha Ann Kidd had any children, and this factor may have enabled them to devote their time and energies to archaeology. Maggie Tushingham had extensive help from her parents in raising her two children. Martha Kidd's termination of active employment in 1958 when she assumed guardianship of her eight year old niece attests to the fact that childcare was a significant limiting factor on women's involvement. The difficulty of meshing family responsibilities and careers is still evident for women today (Wildesen 1994:11).

2 It has been suggested that women practicing archaeology in the early 20th century were affluent and financially well off. During the war and depression periods severe economic crises challenged the financial stability of families and in turn restricted educational and employment opportunities for women. Most of the women archaeologists mentioned came from middle- to upper-class families who could afford to pay for their childrens' education. Martha Kidd and Elsie Jury were very well educated. Maggie Tushingham worked for no pay in order to open employment opportunities for herself.

After 1960, several factors operated to allow women to enter archaeology

1 Loss of the available labouring male population for field crews during World War II brought women into field archaeology, despite the reluctance of the older generation of male archaeologists who would have preferred men. Women as professional archaeologists arose after World War II when they could hire female or mixed-sex crews which would accept their leadership.

2 The activities of the Ontario Archaeological Society and the growth of universities in the late 1960s attracted large numbers of young women into undergraduate classes and new graduate programs.

3 Effective birth control allowed women to implement reproductive strategies which permitted field work. Childbearing could be postponed or declined as an option without sacrificing a satisfying family life. Growth of commercial support services has, to some extent, replaced the servants in the home.

4 The interpretive breadth of the New Archaeology, with its emphasis on environmental analysis, provided special attraction for women in the 1960s. Rosser (1992:46) suggests that pure science with a "dispassionate, value-free approach, in which the scientist remains distant from the object of study" may be inherently masculine. "Studies have shown that women are drawn more often to topics that are complex and entertain ambiguity than they are to models that can be classified only as right or wrong." Women tend to be repelled by traditional scientific approaches in which "the objects of study are stripped of context and the answers . . . cut-and-dried," (Rosser 1992:46). The stale artifact descriptions and mechanical site seriations of 19th and 20th century prehistoric archaeology did not attract many women. When archaeological science expanded its focus to the reconstruction of environments and the lifeways of people in the past, women responded with enthusiasm.

If women did participate before 1960, why are their contributions unrecognized?

Women have always been active in Ontario archaeology, even prior to 1960, yet few are formally recognized. Women's contributions are often "invisible if one focuses only on the official and dramatic figures and events that are

favored in conventional accounts" (Levine 1994:28). Several factors have led to an overshadowing of women's work:

1 *Working in Partnership*
Most women archaeologists mentioned were actively involved in their husbands' research. Martha Kidd, Maggie Tushingham, and Elsie Jury suspended their own immediate interests to assist their husbands. Only later, once they had achieved scholarly reputation did they return to their original interests. Wilfrid Jury's archaeological research was complemented by the excellent historical and archival skills of Elsie. It was Wilfrid who continually insisted on the cooperative nature of his work with his wife.

2 *Publication*
Prior to the 1960s (after which time it was common practice for women to publish under their own names), the research completed by women archaeologists was generally submitted in co-authorship with male counterparts or solely under the name of a husband. In cases of co-authorship it was proper to have the husband's name placed first. Significant works by Martha Kidd and Elsie Jury did not carry sole authorship. Elsie Jury's editing career demonstrates how women eventually gained full recognition.

3 *The Woman-at-home Ideology*
Several scholars (Gero 1983, 1985; Woodall and Perricone 1981) suggest that archaeology holds a popular image as a "male profession," that is, one that sends the message that "archaeology builds men" (Woodall and Perricone 1981:507). We see the archaeologist as Indiana Jones, he is ". . . MALE, he works out-of-doors, sometimes far from civilization but always remaining public and visible; he is physically active, rugged, exploratory, dominant and risk-taking . . ." (Gero 1983:51). Ironically, many of the prominent male archaeologists of early periods were aged, in poor health, and could have their physical capabilities questioned.

Stemming from this stereotype is the notion that "excavation is the appropriate endeavor for archaeologists" (Woodall and Perricone 1981:506), that is archaeology is excavation or it is nothing. Because more men than women direct field projects the androcentric image is perpetuated. However, women have comprised a large part of excavation crews throughout the history of Ontario archaeology. Martha Kidd, Maggie Tushingham, Ruth Marshall Tovell, and Elsie Jury all had ample excavation experience.

Histories tend to reflect the public activities of field directors — usually men — and to avoid mention of the labourers, cataloguers, illustrators and archivists, not to mention camp managers, whose work is thus represented as "secondary" or "less essential" than the labour of excavation. Under these circumstances, archaeology is portrayed as a male endeavor and the contribution of the woman working in the lab, like the "home-maker", is minimized.

4 *Career Paths and Roles Played*
Few women archaeologists followed a straight path into the discipline. Instead, most followed their husbands' work or worked under other male authorities. In part, this required that they assume a variety of roles and were seldom given an official title or job description. In essence, few women held authority roles but aspiring women, such as Maggie Tushingham, Helen Devereux, and Mary MacPherson, used secretarial positions as avenues to career advancement. In addition, women took on volunteer labour by giving public lectures, acting as committee members, working with amateur groups or offering a home for meetings to take place. Most of these activities attract little historical attention.

Finally, what do the answers to these questions, and an implicit androcentrism in archaeology, imply for young women considering a career in archaeology today?

Despite the changes that have taken place since 1960, women have been slow to move into full equality. Women make up the majority of undergraduate students in any modern university archaeology class — typically 60 to 80%. At the University of Toronto, applicants for graduate programs in archaeology are about 50% female and women complete about half of the Ph.D.s. Yet women made up less than 20% of tenured or tenure-line archaeology faculty in Canadian universities in 1994. Why, despite their dispa-

rate numbers at the beginning, are women slow to penetrate the highest levels of academic archaeology?

These issues are part of a larger philosophical question of women's involvement in science. Recent studies (Rosser 1992; Zuckerman, Cole and Bruer 1993; Brush 1991; Finkbeiner 1994) concur that women remain under-represented in most branches of science despite strenuous recruitment efforts including monetary support targeted at female scientists.

Academic and museum positions are among the most stable and attractive jobs in Canada, and many university departments are proactively searching for women applicants for openings in science departments. Why, despite these economic inducements, are women still underrepresented in the sciences, including archaeology? Is the scientific community still motivated by sexist goals and values, or does the problem lie in the potential scientists themselves? These are important questions for all of us, regardless of gender, because they reflect upon our understanding of ourselves as human beings and as a species in a complex global environment.

The absence of women from positions of authority in archaeology continues to be troubling. Few young women planning or establishing a career in archaeology have role models. Maggie Tushingham had Dame Kathleen Kenyon, others like Elsie Jury and Martha Fox at least had other women peers to turn to. Mima Kapches, President of the OAS from 1982 to 1985 suggests the importance of role models for women. For her, Phyllis M. Bowland, in her role as public school teacher and avocational archaeologist, provided the inspiration she needed to pursue archaeology as a valid career option. She notes, "somehow the fact that Miss Bowland was also an archaeologist made the possibility of my becoming an archaeologist an achievable goal" (Kapches 1990).

Archaeologists on the brink of the 21st century should strive to understand and rectify the history and effects of gender bias within our own discipline before we attempt to apply such a filter to the past which archaeology seeks to recover. We should examine gender relations, conflicts, statuses, and historical roles in order to ". . . investigate the specific historical conditions under which gender concepts and categories [were] brought into existence and how they structure and constitute specific historical circumstances" (Conkey and Gero 1991:10). This paper has attempted to do just that.

Our analysis suggests it may be time for archaeology to examine its own belief system and associated stereotypes. The ideological system created by archaeologists during the 1930s must be considered an historically-constituted construct. This ideology once "had value for attracting personnel to a low paying and extracting profession. [By] endowing practices with the romantic macho complex, a ready supply of recruits was insured and the ideology spread rapidly through our ranks" (Woodall and Perricone 1981:508). However, we suggest, it has now outlived its usefulness and lost its foundation in reality.

We remember the heroic efforts of women in early Ontario archaeology and we should not overlook their insights. They, as part of that history, are worthy role models for today. Martha Kidd sums it up:

> I think what has happened in archaeology can be paralleled in just about any other field, where the women are being more and more recognized and accepted. It's getting to be more accepted, a way of life now. I have a feeling that a lot of this was just the time was right. And it was a natural evolution. That's the way I look at it. I frankly have never been involved with women for women. You didn't fight because you were a woman. It's people that are important: if you had something to give, you gave it.

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Chapter 4

J. Norman Emerson: Contributions to Canadian Archaeology

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Abstract
Professor J. Norman Emerson (1917–1978) had a profound effect on training many archaeologists in Canada over a thirty year period at the University of Toronto. While his research specialty focused on the late Ontario Iroquois, he also explored Archaic, Middle Woodland, Algonkian and Eskimo cultures of northern Canada. He made significant contributions to archaeological method and theory, but is perhaps best remembered as a professor who took students into the field with him so that they could "learn by doing".

Résumé
Professeur J. Norman Emerson (1917–78), de l'Université de Toronto, a eu une influence profonde sur le développement de l'archéologie au Canada. Il était le premier à organiser un programme d'enseignement, de formation sur le terrain, et de recherche pour les étudiants canadiens. Beaucoup de ces étudiants ont poursuivi carrières prospères en archéologie. S'appuyant sur des publications, des lettres professionnelles, des papiers inédits, et entrevues personnelles, Noble documente les contributions variées de cet homme actif et influent.

Bringing Back the Past: Historical Perspectives on Canadian Archaeology, edited by P.J. Smith and D. Mitchell. Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, Archaeological Survey of Canada, Mercury Series No. 158, 1998:39–51

Professor John Norman Emerson (1917–1978) clearly stands as one of the major contributors to the development of modern archaeology in Canada. Indeed, the list of his former students provides a substantial "Who's Who" of Canadian archaeologists who passed through the University of Toronto system between 1946–1976. His thirty year archaeological tradition (Devereux 1978:9) established for the first time a "long term program of teaching, field training, excavation, and research" (Emerson 1974a:3). Of such accomplishments, Norman was justifiably pleased and proud, for many carried on in his footsteps and some increased his endeavours.

J. Norman Emerson falls within what I consider to be the "Fourth Generation" of archaeologists who helped establish archaeology in Canada (Table 1). His educational cohort clearly follows the early antiquarians ("First Generation"), the transitional contributors ("Second Generation"), and the early twentieth century trained practitioners ("Third Generation") who laid down various practical frame-works and problem orientations that characterise modern Canadian archaeology. Diamond Jenness (1886–1969) emerges as the most renowned of the third cohort, while Emerson certainly became one of the significant influences of his "Generation".

Source materials concerning Norman Emerson are plentiful, but scattered. His widow Ann disposed of many items, including some 1,402 pages of personal letters and papers in October, 1982 to W.C. Noble and a photographic

Early Era First	Transitional Era Second	Modern Era Third	Fourth	Fifth
Dawson, Sir John William (1820–1899)	**Bailey**, Loring Woart (1839–1925)	**Collins**, Henry Bascomb (1899–1987)	**Borden**, Charles (1907–1978)	**Anderson**, James E. (Zoel) (1926–1995)
Gilpin, John Bernard (1810–1892)	**Bell**, Charles Napier (1854–1936)	**Jenness**, Diamond (1886–1969)	**Emerson**, John Norman (1917–1978)	**Hlady**, Walter (1924–1986)
Gossip, William (1809–1889)	**Bell**, Robert (1841–1917)	**Leechman**, Douglas (1890–1980)	**Jury**, Wilfrid (1890–1981)	**Irving**, William (1927–1987)
Schoolcraft, Henry Rowe (1793–1864)	**Boyle**, David (1842–1911)*	**Mathiassen**, Therkel (1892–1967)	**Kennedy**, Clyde (1917–1987)	**Johnston**, Richard (1930–1987)
Wilson, Sir Daniel (1816–1892)	**Bryce**, George (1844–1931)	**McIlwraith**, Thomas Forsyth (1899–1964)	**Kenyon**, Walter Andrew (1917–1987)	**Rogers**, Edward S (1923–1988)
	Chamberlain, Alexander Francis (1865–1914)	**Smith**, Harlan Ingersoll (1872–1940)	**Kidd**, Kenneth Earl (1906–1994)	**Rouslière**, Rev. Guy Marie (1913–1994)
	Ganong, William Francis (1864–1941)	**Wintemberg**, William John (1876–1941)	**Lee**, Thomas (1914–1974)	**Taylor**, William Ewart (1926–1994)
	Harris, Rev. William Richard (1847–1923)		**Ridley**, Frank (1904–1985)	**Wilmeth**, Roscoe (1922–1981)
	Hill-Tout, Charles (1858–1944)			
	Hirschfelder, Charles Augustus (1857–1945)			
	Hunter, Andrew Frederick (1863–1940)			
	Laidlaw, Col. George Edward (1860–1926)			
	Montgomery, George Henry (1849–1919)			
	Orr, Rowland Beattie (1852–1933)			

* Canada's first full-time archæologist (Killan 1983, this volume)

Table 1. Five generations of archæologists in Canada.

collection of over 2,500 items to the Anthropology Department, University of Toronto. Also extant are newspaper releases, publications and movie films. His professional library was divided in various directions. Most of Norman's personal letters were handwritten because he never did like using a typewriter and he never had a secretary.

Background

Emerson's early life is not fully documented. He was born in Toronto on 13 March 1917 (a Pisces), son of First Class Electrician John Emerson and Eva Walters. Eva was a bright and beautiful daughter of Charles Walters who was an accomplished artist and fencing instructor at the University of Toronto. It was this maternal grandfather who taught Norman fencing, as well, he gave him a guitar with which Norman later entertained fellow students and many campfire crew members (Figure 1). The Emerson family, including Norman and his younger sister Mary, lived at 94 Howard Street in Toronto's northern "Cabbagetown" a neighbourhood that produced other notable "Cabbagetown kids"

Figure 1. Aurora (Murphy) site (BaGu-2), November 1957. Singsong with J. Norman Emerson and his guitar; wife Ann to his right; various students including James V. Wright in hat behind Ann Emerson. Photograph courtesy of the Anthropology Department, University of Toronto.

such as author Hugh Garner (1913–1979) and broadcaster Gordon Sinclair (1900–1984) and influenced wildlife naturalist Ernest Thompson Seton (1860–1946). He attended Rose Avenue Public School 1924–1932, and proved to be a bright student such that he was admitted into the prestigious University of Toronto Schools for his secondary school education 1932-1936.

While at U.T.S. he received a number of fencing medals (Emerson 1974a:1). He also became heavily involved with the Anglican Church, being a long time member of St. Simon's Boy's Choir, a member of the Server Guild, and a Sunday School Teacher. However, as Norman states (1974a:2), "At about age 20, despite the growing popularity of the Oxford Group, I dissociated myself from the Anglican Church, to allow more time for skiing." In his final year at U.T.S., Norman won the Pre-University David Dunlop Memorial Award in Psychology, but upon entering Trinity College, University of Toronto, he decided upon the Honours Undergraduate Sociology program from whence he graduated "1:1", "*Summa cum Laude*" with prize in the spring of 1940 (Emerson 1974a:1).

Norman's formal introduction to archaeology commenced in the summer of 1938 when he was age 21 and had completed his second year of undergraduate studies. He was chosen by Dr. Philleo Nash (1909–1987), a University of Chicago graduand, to participate in the U. of T. Anthropology Department's first ever field excavation held at the Pound site, near Aylmer, southwestern Ontario. Professor Thomas Forsyth McIlwraith (1899–1964) had engaged Dr. Nash from the Smithsonian Institution to undertake summer training excavations for his nascent Anthropology department. The work at

Pound occurred during the two summers of 1938 and 1939. Kenneth Earl Kidd (1906–1994) was a fellow crew member of Norman's for the two summers, and they became friends. Indeed, from late August to September 14, 1939, Kidd, Emerson and Raif Currelly travelled to Algonquin Provincial Park to excavate the prehistoric Rock Lake campsite (Kidd 1948:98 note). The threesome emerged from that remoteness to learn that Canada was involved in the Second World War (Noble 1968b).

Norman's professional experience was further enriched in the summer of 1940 when he went to work as a supervisor at the Kincaid Site (Mound $Mx^{o}10^{30}$), southern Illinois near the Kentucky border. This major archaeological undertaking was under the direction of Professor Fay-Cooper Cole (1881–1961) of the University of Chicago. As Fred Eggan (1963; 1974:5) has remarked, Cole was "one of the architects of modern archaeology in the eastern United States and trained a large group of students." (Eggan 1974:5). A dynamic and inspiring teacher, Cole's enthusiasm for archaeology was contagious, and he treated graduate students as junior colleagues. Norman Emerson was obviously influenced by Dr. Cole and the "Chicago School", for many of the practices and values he learned in Illinois subsequently appeared in his 30-year career at the University of Toronto.

In the fall of 1940, Norman undertook a Master of Arts degree at Toronto in Anthropology under Professor T. F. McIlwraith. After this was completed in the spring of 1941, he returned to the Kincaid site for a second season. By that time, he had been offered "Graduate Fellowship Awards from the Universities of Yale, Harvard, and Pennsylvania, but accepted the Award from Chicago (not the largest), as it was considered to be *the* Archaeological centre at that time" (Emerson 1974a:2). No doubt his previous personal exposures to Philleo Nash, Fay-Cooper Cole, Ken Kidd and others, helped him make this decision. He was admitted into the M.A. program at Chicago and completed it in the spring of 1942 with a thesis entitled "An Evaluation of Archaeological Chronology in the Province of Ontario, Canada." Various of his classmates at the time included Richard S. MacNeish, Moreau S. Maxwell, George I. Quimby and Joseph R. Caldwell. Indeed, Norm and "Scotty" MacNeish were room-mates at one point during their residencies at Chicago.

Some of Norman's lecture notes as a Ph.D. student during the fall of 1942 are extant. He took "North American Indians," "The Archaeology of the Southwest" and "Eskimo Archaeology." This latter course resulted in a 21 page drawing synthesis of all published Eskimo harpoon styles from the Alaskan and Canadian Arctic. This intense interest in comparative Arctic functional/artistic artifacts for purposes of stylistic typology and chronology was later passed on to some of his students. Norman's notes of the time also indicate an increasing development of personal organization with dating, pagination and commentary.

On 16 January 1943, Norman married Ann Elliott of Buda, Illinois. She was Assistant Personnel Director for the University of Chicago (Emerson 1994:2). However, Norman was drafted in early 1943 by the American army, even though he was Canadian, and he asked for and was granted permission to be transferred to the Canadian Forces which he did on 21 April 1943. After basic training in Newmarket, Ontario, he was stationed at Petawawa, northwest of Ottawa. As a Personnel Staff-Sergeant, R.C.A., Norman stated that his military career was undistinguished fighting the paper "Battle of Petawawa" (Emerson 1974a:2). Discharged on 17 October 1945, shortly after VE Day, he returned to Chicago and resumed his doctoral studies.

Early 1946 proved to be a decision-making period for Norman, since McIlwraith offered him a teaching position as Lecturer at the University of Toronto. Norman had not completed his doctorate, and thus was faced with the conundrum of "complete thesis as soon as possible" *versus* "complete thesis when possible" (Emerson 1946). Professor McIlwraith made it clear that "there was an opening there and likely would not be another in a long time" (Emerson 1994:3). Thus, Norman took the position at Toronto, and began teaching during the fall of 1946. This commenced the 30 year Emerson tradition of archaeology at Toronto. It wasn't, however, until March 1954 that Norman had time

to successfully defend his doctoral thesis entitled "The Archaeology of the Ontario Iroquois."

Norman Emerson's accomplishments at the University of Toronto occurred during times that included: financial constraints; an Honours B.A. program in Anthropology being accredited (1948); expansion of Faculty (1949 onwards); curriculum expansion (*e.g.*, Physical Anthropology 1954); Departmental severance from the Royal Ontario Museum (1962); the death of McIlwraith (1964); the Wisconsin influx of students and faculty (1967–1972); and Departmental divisions into specializations (1967–1976). Norman later detailed some of these developments and their impacts, but always downplayed his own influence and accomplishments (Emerson 1970, 1971). He had a great many students over the years and it can be said that collectively they have had considerable impact on Canadian archaeology (Table 2).

Specific Contributions

Field Work

Part of the Emerson tradition was a firm belief in and practice of excavation on real sites during spring, summer and fall. Individuals could learn much from reading, but practical out-of-doors "learn by doing" experience was equally important. Students were expected to get their hands dirty, and to co-exist with one another, as well as interested volunteers who would appear on sites (Figures 2 and 3). Table 3 details nearly 100 expeditions (see also Reid 1993), that included set-piece excavations and survey/reconnaissances with which Norman was associated as an advisor, fund raiser, participant or principal investigator. The record stands as a truly amazing accomplishment!

Norman introduced the "Blitz Digs" where 200 and more students would excavate a site on weekends. Such digs were well organized along military lines, saw a lot of earth moved and artifacts retrieved, and he utilized the Chicago system of 5 foot square units taken out in 6 inch levels. After 1960, he experimented with larger excavation units taken out according to cultural occupational levels. He developed an

Males (41)

Arthurs, David
Bell, W. Douglas
Carruthers, Peter
Dawson, Kenneth
Drewitt, R. Bruce
Englebert, David
Finlayson, William D.
Fox, William A.
Freer, Stan W.
Gooding, S. James
Harrison, Peter
Heidenreich, Conrad E.
Hunter, James
Kenyon, Walter A.
Knight, Dean H.
Konrad, Victor A.
Leblanc, Raymond
MacDonald, George F.
MacLeod, Donald G.
Martijn, Charles A.
McGhee, Robert
Noble, William C.
Pearson, Richard
Popham, Robert
Pratt, Peter
Ramsden, Peter G.
Reid, Colin S.
Reid, John
Reid, Peter
Rick, John H.
Roberts, David
Russell, Dale
Russell, William A.
Spence, Michael W.
Sweetman, Paul W.
Tamplin, Morgan
Taylor, William E., Jr.
Tomenchuk, John
Trigger, B. G.
Tyyska, Alan E.
Vastokas, Romas K.
Wright, James V.

Females (17)

Capes, Katherine H.
Devereux, Helen E.
Gall, Patricia
Kapches, Mima
Kleinfelder, Joyce
Latta, Martha A.
Linnamae, Urve
Mackenzie, Mary
O'Brien, Roberta
Rice, Joanne
Snow, Elizabeth
Stewart, Frances
Stocum, Faye
Sutherland, Patricia
Vastokas, Joan

Ethnohistorians

Abler, T.

Museology

Brownlee, Brenda
Toborsky, Edwina

Table 2. Archæology students of J. Norman Emerson.

Figure 2. Aurora (Murphy) site (BaGu-2), November 1957. Left to right: J. Norman Emerson, Wm J. Mayer-Oakes, Thomas F. McIlwraith, Helen E. Devereux and students around catering truck. Photograph courtesy of Wm Renison.

apprenticeship system or hierarchy of seasoned students who acted as supervisors over novice diggers (usually in a 1:5 ratio). This helped to promote collegiality and a sense of accomplishment for the serious students. Norman also adopted T. F. McIlwraith's practice of encouraging and including female workers on his digs, as well as helping them proceed to graduate level.

Often, Norman's excavations operated on "shoe-string" budgets. Because of this, he endeavoured to procure quality field equipment and supplies from local corporate sponsors, and thus, shovels, tents and wood stoves would miraculously appear. What is perhaps less well known is that Norman was the first in Canada to use a labour-saving bulldozer to remove sterile overburden on an archaeological site (Pic River 1960), and he also engaged Native People as crew members (*e.g.*, Southampton Island 1955 and Pic River 1960). He was ahead of his times on these matters and certainly correct and compassionate. His St. Lawrence Seaway, Sheek Island, Ault Park surveys and digs (see Table 3) marked the first *salvage* archaeological projects in central-eastern Canada, 1956-58.

Norm Emerson was also the first recipient in Canada to receive Federal financial support for archaeology. His acceptance letter of March 16, 1955 to Dr. John E. Robbins of The Canadian Social Science and Research Council, Ottawa, states (Emerson 1955):

> I was delighted to receive your letter of March 9th and to hear that The Social Science Research Council have awarded me a Grant-in-Aid for work in the Arctic this summer. I appreciate the grant for its own sake, and also for the mark of recognition

Figure 3. Aurora (Murphy) site (BaGu-2), November 1957. J. Norman Emerson consulting field notes on house-wall post-moulds. Photograph courtesy of Wm Renison.

of the importance of archaeological work in Canada. It is, I think, the first direct grant that has been made for this purpose.

This grant was awarded to help finance the first of two expeditions which Norman joined with Dr. Henry B. Collins (1956) of the Smithsonian Institution to Native Point on Bell Peninsula, Southampton Island, Hudson Bay. Dr. Collins ("Turnirmiut") requested of Norman that some ammunition be procured, 12 rolls of toilet paper be purchased to sustain the 4 man party for three months, and he trusted to "Norman's advice as to handling transportation of our medicinal supplies" (read Hudson's Bay Rum) (Collins 1955). The four man crew, H.B. Collins, J.N. Emerson, W.E. Taylor ("Tunit") and National Geographic photographer E. Ostroff survived. The following summer, student J.V. Wright replaced the photographer.

For teaching purposes, Norman always found Ontario Iroquois sites to be ideal. This was because students could be exposed to lithic, ceramic, faunal, floral, burial and settlement aspects of archaeology — in other words, an entire range of material and social sectors of past human endeavours. Out of this field work, he encouraged questions and constructions of how past Native lifestyles may have been. Probably, his most memorable field experiences were associated with the Kant site, Southampton Island, Ault Park, Pic River and Cahiagué (Warminster), the last of which he shared eight continuous field years with students. Norman will always be remembered as the professor who went into the field with his students in order to show them the real ropes, how to work and play equally hard, and how to get things done scientifically. He was a very human field general.

1938 **Pound** Southwestern ON July–Aug

1939 **Pound** Southwestern ON July–Aug
Rock Lake late Aug–Sept 14
Algonquin Park ON

1940 **Kincaid** June–Sept
Illinois (Mound Mxo1030)

1941 **Kincaid** June–Sept
Ean Clane Wisconsin November

1942 **Dixon** Ill. (Mound Pp02) Summer
God's Lake Manitoba Fall

1946 **Warminster** (Cahiagué) ON August

1947 **Aurora** (Murphy) ON Spring
Kant Eganville ON June–July
McKenzie (Woodbridge I) Fall

1948 **Parker** St. Lawrence River ON May
Black Creek (York), Weston ON Fall

1949 **Glen Meyer** Lake Erie ON April 14–16
McKenzie (Woodbridge II) ON Oct 21–23

1950 **Hardrock** Balsam Lake ON June 2–July 25
Downsview November
(Cockshutt, "Snowflake") Toronto ON

1951 **Benson** Bexley ON June–July
Schomberg ON October
Seed (Barker), Toronto ON November

1952 **Graham-Rogers** Lake Simcoe ON June–July
Point Pelee burials Lake Erie ON Aug
Farquhar Toronto ON Fall
Doncaster Toronto ON Fall
Parsons Toronto ON October

1953 **MacMurchy** Collingwood ON July–Aug
Milne Ossuary Duntroon ON August
Parsons Toronto ON Fall
Draper Pickering ON Fall

1954 **Shebeshekong** Georgian Bay ON May
Southampton Island June–Aug
(Native Point & Walrus Is.) NWT
Malcolm ON late Aug
Milroy ON Fall
Robb ON Fall
St. Lawrence Survey Cornwall ON Fall
Guyatt Binbrook ON Fall

1955 **Southampton Island** NWT June 8–Aug
Sheek Island Cornwall ON Late Aug
Benson Bexley ON Fall
Robb ON Fall

1956 **Ault Park** St. Lawrence River ON Summer
Reesor ON October
Thompson Scarborough ON October
Robb ON Fall
Tabor Hill Ossuary
Scarborough ON

1957 **Ault Park** St. Lawrence River ON Summer
Red Sucker Point August
Lake Superior Survey ON
Boyd ON Fall
Aurora (Murphy) ON November

1958 **Ault Park** May to June
St. Lawrence River ON
Red Sucker Point July
Lake Superior ON
Payne (MacDonald)/ Fall Survey
Belleville ON
Bosomworth Fall Survey
Holland Landing ON

1959 **Red Sucker Point** Summer
Lake Superior ON
Big Pic River Summer Survey
Lake Superior ON
Miller Pickering ON August

1960 **Donaldson** Saugeen ON May to June
Big Pic River June 15–Aug 28
Lake Superior ON
Red Sucker Point Aug visit
Lake Superior ON
Miller Pickering ON September
Bosomworth Oct
Holland Landing ON

1961 **Warminster** (Cahiagué) ON July to Aug
Limestone Island Aug visit
Georgian Bay ON
Bennett Carlisle ON Oct

1962 **Bennett** Carlisle ON May 8–June 1
Warminster (Cahiagué) ON July–Aug 28
Bass Lake ON July 10–Aug 14
Sopher Rock Lake Aug 15–Sept 6
Algonquin Park ON
Farquhar Lake September
Haliburton ON

1963	**Warminster** (Cahiagué) ON	June–Aug
	Fort St. Joseph Lake Huron ON	Summer
1964	**Warminster** (Cahiagué) ON	June–Aug
	Fort St. Joseph Lake Huron ON	July–Aug
	Fort Pic Lake Superior ON	July–Aug
1965	**Surma** Fort Erie ON	May 17–May 25
	Sopher Bass Lake ON	May 28–June 28
	Holland Landing ON	June–Sept
	Warminster (Cahiagué) ON	Summer/Fall
	Christian Island ON	Summer Survey
1966	**Warminster** (Cahiagué) ON	Summer/Fall
1967	**Warminster** (Cahiagué) ON	Summer/Fall
	Christian Island ON	Fall
1968	**Montreal River** North-eastern ON	Summer testing
	Christian Island ON	Summer
	Warminster (Cahiagué) ON	Summer/Fall
1970	**DeWaele** Norfolk ON	Fall Survey
1971	**DeWaele** Norfolk ON	June–July
1972	**McLeod** West Hill ON	June
	DeWaele Norfolk ON	Summer
	McKenzie (Woodbridge III) ON	August
	Boys Pickering ON	Fall
1973	**Boys** Pickering ON	Summer
	Draper Pickering ON	Summer
	Parsons Toronto ON	Fall
1974	**McKenzie** (Woodbridge IV) ON	Summer
	Mexico	November
1975	**Uxbridge Ossuary** ON	Summer
	McKenzie (Woodbridge V) ON	Summer
	Egypt	Fall

Table 3. J. Norman Emerson's field record.

Analyses

J. Norman Emerson's use of and contributions to archaeological analytical methods were up to date, innovative and practical. This was particularly so with his intense interest in ceramics, and later his studies in intuitive archaeology. He undertook extensive tests in trying to duplicate Ontario Iroquois pottery, building replicas via the coil and paddle technique, as well as the standard hand modelling technique. This led him to studies of firing, examining clay sources, and measurements of specific gravity. Some of this experimental methodology appeared in his now classic *Understanding Iroquois Pottery in Ontario* (Emerson 1956a; reprinted 1968). Norman also became interested in the Fischer (1958) hypothesis which attempted to discern modes of society from ceramic decorative motifs. Some of this verged upon what one could call "Psycho Ceramics".

On the level of analysis, Norman is best known for his development of Huron ceramic seriation using typology and percentages to arrive at coefficients of similarity. This analytical technique was developed by Brainerd (1951) and Robinson (1951) for southern California for chronologically ordering sites. Norman found it adaptable and useful for refining the temporal position of prehistoric and proto-historic Huron Iroquois villages in southern Ontario. Others of his students adapted his work (*i.e.*, Bell 1952; Noble 1968a; Wright 1966) and could certainly concur with his observations (Emerson 1960) that:

> Until you have undertaken pottery typing analysis, you will not fully appreciate all of the hard work that goes into science. It is the analysis level, particularly of one's own field collections, that separates the real archaeologists from all others.

On the analytical level, Norman was also very interested in smoking pipes and his doctoral dissertation (Emerson 1954) presented an illustrated typology of more than 25 different styles that he felt were distinctive. He examined over 1,200 Iroquoian pipes and analytically

found them to be not only "objects of high craftsmanship and aesthetic appeal" (Emerson 1954:45), but also a sensitive index to understanding smoking customs and ritual. Always interested in ritual, he studied not only tobacco but red ochre burial usage as well (Emerson 1956c).

Settlement analyses considerably interested Norman, and in his early years at Toronto he endeavoured to precisely excavate and record a midden, one complete Iroquoian longhouse, and palisade portions on a given site (see Emerson 1950; Emerson 1954:141, 164, 202; Emerson and Russell 1965). The problem of associating a village with a nearby cemetery (Emerson 1956b) also became an integral analytical inquiry from his field experiences at Sheek Island, Tabor Hill and Cahiagué. Ever analytical, he always put forward his best working hypothesis on the integral relationships of contemporary refuse deposits to houses, village planning and burials.

After 1961, Norman adopted larger excavation units to expand his settlement details on a given site, and in so doing demonstrated over a 7 year period that McIlwraith's 1946 Warminster historic Huron site was in fact a double village community. Gabriel Sagard's 1623 commentary that Cahiagué had had a division into two will prove important in assessing Norman's 1961 firm belief that the Warminster site represented the Huron Rock Nation settlement of Cahiagué (Emerson 1961a). His up-to-date analysis and knowledge of the available archaeological and ethnohistorical records led him to this conclusion, and it can be said that at no time did Norman ever shun new analytical information.

After 1972, Norman boldly experimented with para-psychological analyses and their adaptations to archaeology. Certainly a first endeavour in Canada, he decided that this avenue had strong potential and he experienced some successes. His first public speech on this subject was entitled "Intuitive Archaeology: A Psychic Approach," delivered to the McMaster Anthropology Society, Hamilton, Ontario on January 30, 1973. Subsequently, his publication record detailed various test experiences associated with the Boys site, the Argillite Carving, and the One White Crow (Emerson 1974a, 1974b, 1974c, 1975). George McMullen (1993) acted as an important informant during these analytical tests. Perhaps Norman's most successful methodological/analytical technique to archaeology employed the use of "dowsing rods" to detect subsoil features such as post moulds, pits and hearths. With the hands of sensitive dowsers, he was able to delineate longhouse walls, pits, and other areas that had experienced past sub-soil disturbance prior to formal excavation. Such affirmative findings (*e.g.*, McKenzie IV and V) suggest that intuition in archaeology should not be disdained.

Theory

Norman Emerson's contributions to theory were both formal and informal. Unfortunately, what remains today is mostly what has been recorded, whereas much more informal, personal wisdom resides in a few surviving individual memories. Norman was a personable professor who always expected his students to grasp significant theoretical overviews, either on their own or through Socratic dialogue with him. Whether it was in the classroom or around the after-hours campfire, he listened and would respond to any theoretical matter that would arise, and if the subject were archaeology then he would bring to bear his expertise and that which he had learned from former professors and his colleagues. To Norman, viable theories arose in pyramid fashion, literally and figuratively (see Walter Taylor 1948), from the ground up.

Certainly, one of Norman Emerson's prime theoretical contributions concerned the problem of Huron Iroquois *origins* (Emerson and Popham 1952; Emerson 1959, 1961b, 1966). He spent many years on this problem and much of his field research was directed towards defining "Huronia" through time. It became obvious to him after twelve years of excavations and analyses that historic Huronia of the early 17th century represented an amalgam of native peoples living in the Orillia-Midland region of Simcoe County who had coalesced from a formerly much wider distribution in the Toronto-Trent River region. Unfortunately, he never did write his book on Huron archaeology.

Conceptually grounded in personal field work, Norman developed a theory that prehistoric Huron ancestors in the Toronto-Belleville region (Emerson 1961b, 1966) made a rapid migration towards Lake Simcoe-Georgian Bay *circa* A.D. 1550 in order to avoid attacks from Iroquois peoples living in present-day upstate New York State. This "contraction" model still obtains, but with the realization that some northern prehistoric Hurons (Bear Tribe) were already resident in the Midland area. They were the Lalonde peoples (Ridley 1952; Emerson 1959; Emerson and Popham 1952; Wright 1966). Norman did not accept Lalonde as a separate "culture" as defined by Ridley (1952) let alone the interpretation that Lalonde was an ancestor for the Mohawk Iroquois. He did, however, consider that Lalonde might be an ancestor for the historic Petun or Tobacco Nation centred around Collingwood, Ontario (Emerson 1954:253) if Lalonde was not considered to be developmental Huron. The Lalonde controversy extended for more than a decade, but Lalonde is now considered to be a prehistoric phase of Huron development.

From field work at the Hardrock site (1950) and the Benson site (1951, 1955) in the upper Trent River system, Norman developed an hypothesis regarding interaction and contraction of protohistoric Huron communities in response to the Roebuck St. Lawrence Iroquois expansion (Emerson 1954:251). This was an idea already formulated by Colonel George E. Laidlaw (1860–1926) whose works seem to have escaped Norman's knowledge. The hypothesis depicted the St. Lawrence Iroquois fleeing inland from the Montreal-Prescott region to be absorbed into Huron communities on the upper Trent River, such as at the Benson site (Emerson 1954:251). This hypothesis continues to be debated.

With respect to the use of theoretical terminology, Norman proved to be with the times. He was the first archaeologist to introduce and apply the term "protohistoric" to Ontario Iroquois sites (Emerson 1954:30). Indeed, many of his excavated Iroquoian sites were of protohistoric times when sparse European trade goods appeared far inland on native sites before the Europeans directly visited and contacted the area. He borrowed the protohistoric concept from William N. Fenton's (1940) classic doctoral study on the historic position of the Northeastern Iroquois. Norman was also the first to introduce the terms "tradition" and "horizon" to Ontario and Canadian archaeology. He defined them in his Ph. D. dissertation (Emerson 1954: 239) in an effort to try and provide "continuity and coherency." James V. Wright (1966) later entitled his doctoral dissertation "The Ontario Iroquois Tradition" building in large upon Norman's influences. Archaeology's taxonomic vocabulary was subject to much change in the 1954–1964 period and Emerson strongly influenced Canadian practice.

In early 1973, Norman formally introduced "intuitive archaeology" to broaden Canadian archaeological theory. He defined intuition as being "the immediate knowing or learning of something without the conscious use of reasoning" (Emerson 1973:1). With conviction, he applied controlled psychic tests to archaeological artifacts and archaeological sites, and his prolific publication record (see Noble 1979) demonstrates the considerable energy that he put into this enquiry along with his psychic informants, George McMullen (1993), Sheila Conway and others. Certainly a new approach to Canadian archaeology, this direction offered new insights and interpretations, as well as a theoretical challenge for Norman to explain. Some of his findings proved remarkably accurate, while others were dead off. An open mind and innovative approaches were always important for Norman.

With respect to theoretical matters, Norman never liked to be typed. He enjoyed classifying objects of material culture and typing them, but simply refused to label humans into trendy archaeological categories. Thus, he never wished himself to be termed a processualist, a functionalist, a new pragmatist, a revisionist or whatever. Such labels fall far short and wide of the man; he considered himself to be a student of past and present human behaviour.

Other Contributions

Throughout his career, Norman Emerson was versatile. Few know that between 1946 and 1954, he taught physical anthropology as well

as archaeology at Toronto. He later shared this task with Dr. James Anderson (1926–1995) until Jim was able to establish it as a formal subdiscipline in the Toronto Anthropology Department. Norman and Jim were both responsible for designing and equipping the new laboratories at Sidney Smith Hall which opened in 1961. Subsequently, Norman maintained a close friendship with Drs. Lawrence Oschinsky (1923-1965) and David Hughes.

In 1948, Norman served on the Preparatory Committee for the International Congress on Mental Health which held its meetings in Toronto on February 7 to 9. The guest speaker was Dr. Margaret Mead who, as a seasoned anthropologist, represented the International Congress as well as the newly created UNESCO in general. Norman contributed substantially to "the issue that there was no scientific evidence and moral justification to support the belief of superiority or inferiority of any race or ethnic groups" (Griffin 1948).

In 1966, Norman attended the University of Calgary by request to act as an accreditor of the newly proposed Ph.D. programme in Archaeology. This proved successful, and that same year, Norman established a Zooarchaeology Lab at Toronto and was influential in the hiring of Dr. Howard G. Savage (1913-1997) who oversaw the teaching, zooarchaeological analyses and amassment of comparative specimens for over three decades.

While he was not a joiner, Norman did excel at organizing people and thus became a "founder". Within the Toronto Anthropology Department, he encouraged archaeology students to form a Club and they started a small publication which lasted three years from 1947 to 1950. Norman also helped re-establish a modern Ontario Archaeological Society open to all interested persons. In Spring 1968 in Winnipeg, he also helped found the Canadian Archaeological Association, and became its founding Vice-President. His term as President of the C.A.A. could not be completed in 1976 because of failing health. In recognition for his considerable contributions to Canadian archaeology, he was awarded the Smith-Wintemberg medal in 1978. Norman died 18 November 1978 in Toronto, aged 61 years, 8 months.

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Chapter 5

Mentors and Role Models: The Shaping of Canadian Archaeologists

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Abstract

This paper summarizes the responses to a survey intended to explore the degree to which just a few individuals might have been influential in the professional development of today's generation of archaeologists in Canada. An important goal of the research was to discover if there was any patterning in who had been influential, and why. The responses revealed a remarkable diversity of influential archaeologists but, overwhelmingly, they had been influential through direct contacts rather than through their writings. The survey revealed changes over time as well, particularly in the decreasing importance of teachers and the increasing importance of personal relationships with mentors based on friendship or close interaction.

Résumé

Le présent article résume les réponses d'un questionnaire qui avait l'intention d'examiner combien un petit nombre de personnes ont pu avoir de l'influence dans le développement de la génération présent d'archéologues en Canada. Les réponses révélaient une diversité remarquable dans les archéologues influents, mais, avec consistance, ils étaient influents par le contact direct au lieu de leurs ouvrages écrits. Le questionnaire révélait des changements aussi, spécialement la chute en importance des professeurs et l'augmentation en importance d'amitié ou de contact intime avec les mentors.

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This paper had its genesis at a Canadian Archaeological Association conference several years ago, in a bar. My primary area of research is the Arctic and I made a comment to an archaeologist I consider to be one of my mentors in that field to the effect that, although I had never done fieldwork with William E. Taylor, Jr, several people that I considered my mentors *had* worked with him, and that my archaeological "family tree" therefore included Bill Taylor. The person to whom I was talking made the more perceptive (and historically knowledgeable) response that all active Arctic archaeologists could probably trace their archaeological family trees back at least to Henry Collins. This led us to discuss the possibility of doing a survey of Canadian archaeologists in order to create some sort of huge genealogical diagram showing how intertwined *all* our archaeological heritages are.

Along with several other seemingly clever ideas we came up with that evening, the genealogical diagram idea never came to fruition. Although I still find the idea vastly appealing, I discarded it for two reasons. First, although it might be easy to trace back individual lines of descent, each person could be counted upon to have several differing and overlapping lines of descent, such that the resulting diagram would probably resemble a plate of spaghetti. The second reason I abandoned the diagram idea was, for it to work at all, everybody's *name* would have to appear on it, with lines leading from each person's name to the names of the people

whom that person had identified as important in his or her development. This, it seemed to me, could lead to all sorts of hurt feelings and/or "safe" responses to a questionnaire — for example, even if you thought your M.A. supervisor had not been particularly important in your development as an archaeologist, you still might feel obliged to mention that person since he or she would be able to see exactly whom you had chosen instead. For those reasons (and with my mentor's consent) I embarked upon a research strategy where I could find out *who* had been influential in people's careers, but at the same time assure anonymity to the people who helped me with the project. My goal in doing the research switched from creating a genealogical diagram to attempting to learn if there was any patterning in *who* was influential, and if there was any patterning in *why* they were influential.

Methodology

To begin this research I needed a list of potential respondents[1] — *i.e.*, people who had participated in archaeology in Canada. I therefore obtained a copy of the Canadian Archaeological Association's mailing list, which might be assumed to include a large sample of such individuals. In selecting a manageable subset of the Association's membership to receive questionnaires, I attempted to offset the disparity of male members and members from the more populous provinces. Ultimately I mailed 201 questionnaires on February 1, 1995.[2] Three were returned by the post office as undeliverable. Between February 8 and May 7 I received 82 completed questionnaires — in other words, a response rate of over 40%. I am very grateful to everyone who took the trouble to respond — many people provided extremely thoughtful answers to my questions, far more so than I can do justice to here.

My questionnaire, and indeed my whole rationale for doing this research, was predicated on the assumption that specific people would have been important and influential in our professional development, especially early in our careers. However, to allow for the likelihood that some people would feel that no individuals had been unusually influential in their careers I included a checkbox to that effect on the questionnaire and asked the respondent to return the form anyway. Four of the 82 respondents chose that option. Presumably some or many of the people who didn't return the questionnaire felt that way as well.

Respondents

In the questionnaire, respondents were asked to provide just three pieces of information about themselves: where they received their archaeological training, the approximate date when they became a professional (either through obtaining a higher degree or through getting a "real" job related to archaeology), and their name.

Names

In the covering letter and on the questionnaire itself it was stated explicitly that respondents did not have to provide their name if they didn't want to but only 12 chose to respond anonymously. As far as I could determine, there were no consistent differences between the responses of the anonymous respondents and those of the respondents who identified themselves.

When professional?

The respondents spanned four decades with regard to when they became professionals. Sixteen identified themselves as becoming professional archaeologists in the 1950s or 1960s, 36 became professionals in the 1970s, and 28 did so in the 1980s and 1990s.

Where trained?

Six respondents were trained entirely in the United States while one received training en-

1. In this paper the word "respondent" is used to refer to the individuals who completed and returned the questionnaire that I sent out, while the word "mentor" refers to the people identified as having had a profound influence on the respondents.

2. Seventy-two questionnaires were sent to women, 129 to men. Geographically, the numbers of questionnaires sent out were:

Ontario	61	Nova Scotia	8
Alberta	37	Newfoundland	7
British Columbia	34	New Brunswick	4
Quebec	25	Northwest Territories	4
Saskatchewan	13	Yukon	2
Manitoba	10	Prince Edward Island	1

tirely in Europe. Twenty-two received their training partly in Canada and partly in either the United States or Europe, while the remaining 53 were trained entirely within Canada.[3]

Mentors

The most important part of the research centered on the information that these respondents provided about the people that they identified as mentors. Since each respondent could name as many mentors as desired, I received 193 separate responses concerning a total of 129 mentors. This large number for me represented one of the unexpected and intriguing findings of the survey: that so many different people were listed as having been influential in respondents' careers. Only 12 mentors were listed by more than two respondents; the largest number was eight respondents mentioning the same mentor; and 95 mentors were each mentioned by only one respondent. In the covering letter sent out with the questionnaire, I explained that one of my goals was to learn "the extent to which a few individuals might have shaped the direction of archaeology in Canada in the past and today" — but it is evident from these results that the present shape of archaeology in Canada *is not* the product of just a few individuals, no matter how influential. In many ways this evidence of our diversity is reassuring — despite or perhaps because of that diversity each of us obviously has the potential to be very important in someone's career.

Respondents were also asked to provide information about each mentor's affiliation (*i.e.*, where they worked at the time when the respondent was influenced). Twenty-eight of the mentors were based in the United States, 12 worked in Europe, and 87 were located in all parts of Canada.[4] Ninety-six of them taught at universities while 27 worked for governments or museums.

Details

After eliciting that basic information, I requested that my respondents respond to four questions concerning the manner in which they were influenced by each mentor:

By what *means* was the respondent influenced (*i.e.*, what was the nature of the interaction between the mentor and the respondent)?

In what *way* was the respondent influenced (*i.e.*, what effect did the mentor have on the respondent)?

What *qualities* did the mentor have that made him/her affect the respondent so much?

Approximately *when* did this influencing take place?

In my analysis of the completed questionnaires I went through all the responses trying to identify consistent themes in the answers to each question. Besides analyzing all the answers collectively, I also subdivided the 193 responses chronologically, into three broad groups:

The 64 that describe influences that took place from the mid-1940s through the late 1960s

The 81 that took place during the 1970s

The 45 that took place in the 1980s and 1990s.[5]

The percentages that I'll mention in the following section will represent either the proportion of those 193 responses that included a certain answer, or the proportion of just those answers from one of the three time periods.

3. Respondent training:

United States	6	Eastern Canada (not further specified or in two or more different provinces)	6
Europe	1	Ontario	12
Canada and elsewhere	22	British Columbia	4
Canada (not further specified or in both Western and Eastern Canada)	15	Alberta	3
Western Canada (not further specified or in two or more different provinces)	8	Quebec	3
		Manitoba	1
		Saskatchewan	1

4. Mentor location within Canada:

Canada (these were individuals affiliated with the Archaeological Survey of Canada)	8	Quebec	8
		Manitoba	7
		Saskatchewan	6
		Newfoundland	3
Ontario	26	Nova Scotia	2
Alberta	13	New Brunswick	1
British Columbia	12	Northwest Territories	1

5. Producing a total of 190; the remaining three did not indicate when the influencing took place.

	overall	1940 –60s	1970s	1980 –90s
Instructor	40%	47%	43%	24%
Fieldwork director	30%	36%	27%	24%
Graduate supervisor	19%	16%	15%	29%
Author	14%	13%	14%	13%
Colleague/Friend	13%	8%	9%	27%

Table 1. Mentor was "_____" to respondent.

Means influenced

The first question dealt with the means by which the respondent was influenced (Table 1). Overall, the most important mentors appear to have been university instructors and people who directed excavations and other field projects — they were cited in 40% and 30% respectively of all responses. It appears that undergraduate instructors were slightly more influential than graduate instructors (16% *vs.* 12%). M.A. and Ph.D. supervisors were the next most influential individuals, being cited in 19% of the responses. Authors were next on the list at 14% — this is the only situation where the influence would not have been through some kind of personal contact.

The very low degree of influence that took place through respondents reading the articles and books of mentors initially seems surprising. On the questionnaire I asked "was it through personal contact or through something this person wrote . . . ?" The fact that written work was cited as being a means of influence in only 14% of responses, combined with the fact that several of the respondents who mentioned written work also listed personal contacts of various kinds with the same mentor, points to the much greater importance of personal interactions over written work. Perhaps it also serves as a kind of condemnation of our collective skills as authors, at least in terms of engaging and exciting our readers. It is worth noting that only 20 of the 129 mentors were cited *by anyone* as being influential through their writings.

Beyond that, none of my overall findings concerning the means by which respondents were influenced are particularly surprising — our teachers are obviously important to us and we all know that interactions with people during fieldwork situations can be extremely intense. But when broken down chronologically, some interesting trends appear. Authors stay uniformly influential (or uninfluential, depending on your perspective) while directors of field projects become very slightly less influential over time. However, teachers drop dramatically in influence, especially since the 1970s. This drop seems to be compensated by the doubling of the importance of M.A. and Ph.D. advisors, and by the tripling in importance of persons referred to variously as "colleagues" or "friends," a category of very little influence until the 1980s.

I cannot claim to be entirely sure what these changes mean — I believe that there are a number of ways in which they could be interpreted. For example, given that one invariably has more instructors than advisors, the decrease in the influence of instructors and the increase in influence of advisors suggests to me that over time we have become increasingly reliant on, and thus influenced by, fewer and fewer individuals — academically our universes are becoming smaller and smaller. This trend may also be reflected by changes in the *numbers* of individuals cited by my respondents. Respondents who became professionals in the 1950s and 1960s cited on average 2.6 mentors. Respondents who became professional during the 1970s also cited an average of 2.6 mentors. However, respondents who became professional since 1980 only cited 2.0 mentors on average. The shorter careers of the most recent group may in part be responsible for this discrepancy, but I think these other factors have contributed as well.

The friends and colleagues category consists of three main types of individuals: fellow students, fellow members of a university or government department or museum, and former instructors or advisors with whom the respondent has later developed a friendly or collegial relationship. The increasing importance of these kinds of relationships with mentors may suggest an increase in the need for personal rather than just professional relationships — since we are becoming reliant on fewer individuals, it may be important that they be ones with whom we can develop a close relationship. As discussed below, friendliness, approachability, and

Table 2. Ways respondent was influenced by mentor.

	overall	1940 –60s	1970s	1980 –90s
Overall approach to archaeology	28%	25%	27%	22%
Choice of geographical area	20%	19%	24%	13%
Choice of career	18%	22%	17%	11%
Particular theoretical perspective	17%	13%	15%	29%
Approach to doing research	14%	16%	14%	13%
Learned methodology	10%	9%	11%	9%
Choice of topical area	9%	13%	9%	4%
Developed high standards	7%	3%	10%	9%
Introduced to public archaeology	7%	5%	7%	9%
Received opportunities such as grants, fieldwork jobs or introductions	6%	8%	6%	4%
Introduced to theory	6%	2%	11%	2%
Developed critical thinking and analytical skills	6%	3%	6%	9%
Choice of graduate school	4%	5%	4%	2%
Learned how to write	4%	2%	5%	4%
Introduced to new ideas/literature	3%	2%	0%	9%
Encouraged to publish	2%	0%	3%	2%

generosity are qualities that have increased in importance over time for respondents. Conversely, it simply may be that with more and more possible mentor archaeologists to choose from, it is now possible to select the ones with personal characteristics that we find attractive.

Way influenced

I was able to identify 22 different ways that respondents reported being influenced by the mentors that they named (Table 2). The single most important way in which respondents said they had been influenced by a mentor was in their general approach to archaeology, followed by their choice of a region of the world to work in. Topical area — the particular time period or culture of study — was substantially less influenced than geographical area. The choice of archaeology as a career and the adoption of a particular theoretical perspective were also important ways that respondents were influenced. Theory — respondents who mentioned this factor said that the mentor had opened their mind to the importance of theory in general — was only the eleventh most important item on the list at just 6%, but the changes over time in this response seem illuminating. During the 1970s this factor was five times as important as before or since. It is tempting to imagine the same 11% of respondents who report being turned on by *their* mentors to theory in general back in the 1970s, some years later acting as mentors to the 29% who state that their particular theoretical perspective was influenced in the 1980s and 1990s.

But for me the most interesting change over time in these figures is the large drop in the number of respondents choosing archaeology as a career because they came into contact with a particular mentor. That suggests either that people are now making the decision to choose archaeology as a career at an earlier point in their lives, before having the chance to interact extensively with archaeologists, or that the nature of teaching by university instructors — presumably the first archaeologists most people encounter — has changed to the point where it is the material rather than a person that is the most attractive aspect of archaeology as a career.

Qualities

The question querying what it was about the mentor that made him or her have such an effect on the respondent produced by far the most diverse results (Table 3). I was able to identify 42 separate characteristics mentioned in at least two responses, but no single characteristic occurred in more than 14% of the responses. Those showing up in more than 3% of the responses are listed in Table 3. Dedication and/or commitment was the most commonly cited quality, followed closely by enthusiasm.

Table 3. Qualities of mentors.

	overall	1940 –60s	1970s	1980 –90s
Dedicated/Committed	14%	9%	16%	13%
Enthusiastic	12%	14%	15%	4%
Good teacher	9%	11%	11%	4%
Encouraging/Supportive	9%	9%	10%	9%
Knowledgeable	9%	8%	7%	11%
Quality of writing	7%	9%	5%	9%
Showed interest	6%	5%	7%	7%
Broadness of thinking	7%	9%	4%	9%
High standards	5%	2%	5%	11%
Friendly/Approachable	5%	3%	5%	9%
Provided opportunities	5%	3%	7%	4%
Gender	5%	5%	5%	7%
Generous	5%	2%	5%	9%
Effective	5%	6%	6%	0%
Approach to archaeology	4%	3%	4%	4%
Intelligent	4%	2%	4%	9%
Insightful	4%	2%	5%	7%
Honesty/Integrity	4%	3%	6%	0%
Helpful	4%	5%	4%	2%
Enjoys his/her work	4%	6%	3%	2%
Provocative/Iconoclastic	4%	2%	5%	4%
Common sense/Down to earth	3%	8%	1%	0%
Ability to communicate	3%	2%	5%	2%
Professional	3%	0%	4%	7%
Dynamism/Energy	3%	3%	5%	0%

Despite the very large number of different qualities cited by respondents, I feel that the results of this question are useful. One particular mentor was mentioned by eight respondents; three of these respondents mentioned his broadness of thinking, three mentioned the quality of his writings, two mentioned the scope of his knowledge, and two mentioned how interesting his research was. Another mentor who was listed by six respondents was cited by three of them for his enthusiasm and by two for the high quality of his teaching. This consistency *between* respondents suggests to me that the qualities they're listing really are those possessed by the mentors — in other words, the respondents are presenting accurate pictures of their mentors, although undoubtedly mediated by whatever appealed to the differing personalities of the respondents.

However, because the overall percentages of each of these many qualities are quite low, it is much more interesting to note how some of them have increased or decreased in importance over time. Dealing just with the top four, dedication and commitment almost doubled in importance between the 1960s and 1970s, while enthusiasm and teaching ability both dropped drastically in the 1980s. The drop in the importance or effect of good teaching is likely linked to the decreasing influence of instructors already noted. Based on just those first four qualities, the typical influential archaeologist today might be a dedicated and supportive but unenthusiastic bad teacher — not necessarily an appealing picture!

The doubling of importance of "High standards" after the 1970s may reflect the overall inflation of marks that seems to have taken place in universities — instructors who have not gone along may be perceived as having high standards. "Professionalism" is another quality that increases in importance over time. The more frequent mention of friendliness/approachability may be another sign of the increasing importance of personal relationships with mentors. Conversely, a number of formerly valued qualities decrease in importance after the 1970s, including "Effectiveness," "Honesty/Integrity," "Common sense/Down to earth," and "Dynamism/Energy."

For me perhaps the most curious result of the survey is the increasing importance of a quality I've called "Intelligent." The quality that I've called "Knowledgeable" is used to describe mentors who know their data well — according to my findings that has always been an important quality. However, intelligence — smarts, ability to think well — doubled in importance between the 1960s and 1970s, and again between the 1970s and the 1980s. If one were cynical one might speculate that intelligence was a less valued quality prior to the 1970s simply because everyone involved in the discipline was pretty intelligent. But now, with so many more of us doing Archaeology, the intelligent ones are apparently beginning to stand out from the crowd.

Naively, perhaps, I didn't ask my respondents to indicate their gender or that of their mentors on the questionnaire but, after noting what appeared to be a recurring theme in several of the responses, I concluded that this might be an important factor. Therefore, I attempted to ascertain this information for as many as possible. Forty-eight percent of those respondents who could be identified as female[6] commented on the importance of knowing or *knowing of* a woman who was successful in the predominantly male world of Archaeology — that is the quality I've identified as "Gender" on my list. It ends up at just 5% overall simply because no male archaeologist mentioned it. Perhaps revealingly, only seven respondents actually used the phrase "role model" when describing mentors, and five of those respondents were women describing female mentors.

Discussion

Focusing as I have on individuals and their effects on other individuals, my findings necessarily offer only one slightly idiosyncratic perspective on the history of archaeology in Canada. Further, there can be no question but that these results say as much about my respondents as about the mentors that they described. Thus I've deliberately *not* mentioned any names in this paper — neither those of my respondents, to whom I promised anonymity, nor those of the mentors about whom they wrote. I haven't mentioned the mentors first because there were 129 of them in all, and second because there seemed to be little point. The names of the mentors cited most frequently would probably not surprise anyone moderately familiar with Canadian archaeology, and there is no point in generating controversy over any names that might be missing.

That said, I do think that these findings offer several interesting insights into the way archaeology in Canada has changed over a number of decades. First, while I have felt it appropriate to draw some slightly negative inferences from the overall results of this survey, overwhelmingly the individual responses I received were positive, and indicated a real desire to acknowledge the contributions that these mentors made to the respondents' careers. Almost all of us appear to recognize a real debt to particular archaeologists who have influenced us.

Second, there has been a remarkable diversity of influential archaeologists — both in the large number of people cited as being influential *and* in the qualities that made them so — but much less diversity in *how* we've been influenced by them. The title of my paper was written well before I began my analysis but I think that the two terms I used in the title — "mentors" and "role models" — together describe fairly well many of the archaeologists who've shaped those of us in the discipline today. To my mind mentoring represents an activity — it's something that you have to work at — while someone can be a role model without even knowing it — all role modeling requires is for someone else to perceive a person as a role model and try to emulate them. Both of these processes appear to have contributed, although only a very few archaeologists were specifically identified as "role models" — I guess that's not our style.

I began by mentioning that the initial germ of the idea that led to this paper came from a conversation at a conference in a bar. The findings of my survey concerning the professional

6. Twenty-one of the respondents are women and 49 are men (and 12, as noted above, remained anonymous); 110 of the mentors are male; just 16 are female.

impact of personal contacts in Canadian archaeology make me think that fact is not unimportant. For example, it must be significant that authors and their writings were cited in a consistently low fashion in comparison with instructors, project leaders, advisors, and even friends and colleagues. Despite the widely acknowledged importance of publication as a means of communication within scholarly disciplines like archaeology, it appears that we archaeologists are far more likely to be influenced by the people that we interact with personally. That may not be too surprising a conclusion but it reinforces the vital importance of things like doing your degrees at different universities in order to interact personally with as many different archaeologists as possible, attending conferences, and even talking archaeology in bars.

Acknowledgements

I offer my sincere thanks to all the archaeologists who took the time to respond to my rather open-ended questions, and to those who were embarrassed enough to apologize to me later for not having done so. Pamela Smith encouraged me to believe that this was not a frivolous exercise and Bjorn Simonsen kindly gave me access to a copy of the Canadian Archaeological Association's mailing list, without which this project would have been unfeasible. Susan Barran provided invaluable assistance in the logistics of mailing 201 questionnaires. Finally, thanks to my own mentors — the roots of my personal archaeological "family tree" are deep and impressive indeed.

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Chapter 6

My Life in Canadian Archaeology

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Abstract

This is a racy account of my (20-year) visit to Canada — May 20, 1949 through August 30, 1968 — during which I did 104 months of field work in six provinces and five countries, as well as the Yukon and Northwest Territories, published 110 articles, did administration in the National Museum of Canada, expanded Canadian Archaeology and become a sort of Dr Frankenstein who created a monster, the Department of Archaeology at the University of Calgary, which begot even more little monstrous archaeologists, many now in high places.

Résumé

L'auteur décrit sa participation longue et controversée dans l'archéologie au Canada, débutant avec des amitiés canadiennes formées à l'Université de Chicago durant les années 1930. Il est été embauché par le Musée National de Canada en 1949. MacNeish est resté employé par Ottawa jusqu'à 1963. L'histoire du Musée est décrit officieusement. L'auteur décrit rapports amicaux mais quelquefois acrimonieux avec le personnel du Musée et fonctionnaires du gouvernement. Au Printemps de 1963, MacNeish a été invité à la direction du département de la nouvelle Université de Calgary. Il a collaboré avec Richard Forbis pour mettre sur pied le programme de diplomes gradués en archéologie au Canada. La visite de l'auteur au Canada a pris fin dan 1969 lors de son départ travailler à la Fondation Peabody aux Etats-Unis.

Bringing Back the Past: Historical Perspectives on Canadian Archaeology, edited by P.J. Smith and D. Mitchell. Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, Archaeological Survey of Canada, Mercury Series No. 158, 1998:61–76

My first contact with Canadian archaeology came in the late thirties at the University of Chicago when Kenneth Kidd came down to do graduate work. We, and here I include his wife, became good friends and stayed that way until his death in the early nineties, but our contacts after Chicago were infrequent and not so intense. At Chicago we not only took courses and studied together, but at the various departmental parties had long conversations. Here I learned about the Royal Ontario Museum and Department of Anthropology under McIlwraith in Toronto as well as something of Ontario archaeology. On a more formal level "Poppa" (Fay-Cooper) Cole, as was his wont, got Ken to lecture on "historic archaeology" and Kidd's version had a strong Canadian and Iroquoian twist so throughout many (60) years of casual contact I always had Ken bring me up-to-date on what was happening in historic archaeology in Canada.

My second Canadian contact was also in connection with the University of Chicago's Department of Anthropology, initially at its summer field school at Kincaid in southern Illinois (Cole and MacNeish 1951). Here it was with Norman Emerson. My relationship was, however, very different from that with Kidd, for Norm and I were "drinking" buddies. On the weekends we surveyed the honky-tonks from East St Louis to Memphis with Norm playing his guitar and I, with my night vision, navigating the University of Chicago station wagon. Needless to say, on the drives (often long into night) between "dance" stops, we talked noth-

ing but archaeology, for both of us were "mound" crew chiefs learning Chicago's archaeological techniques under Roger Willis, the "dig boss" at Kincaid in the Ohio River "bottoms." Norm became the soil stripper and posthole finder *par excellence* at $Mx^{O}10^{30}$ while I became the finder and interpreter of stratigraphy at $Mx^{O}17$ *par excellence*.

"Poppa" Cole, when he gave his tour at the site to various dignitaries, used our digs as the prize exhibits of top-notch archaeological digging — "the best of the Chicago technique." While Norm and I interstimulated each other on field digging we also exchanged ideas on recording data — with me learning about Sir Mortimer Wheeler's square description (MacNeish 1954e), which Norm had picked up from Phileo Nash on University of Toronto projects, while I taught Norm about supplemental field records that I had encountered in the Southwest — soil, feature, and dendrochronology forms. After we returned to Chicago for classes, we still spent a lot of time together and had frequent wide-ranging archaeological discussions — often heated, for Norm was much taken with Walt Taylor's "conjunctive archaeology" of which I was very sceptical (MacNeish 1960a), for I was equally taken with Jim Ford and Jim Griffin's use of typologies to determine chronologies.

In these discussions I learned about, often on the gossip level, the University of Toronto's anthropology department with McIlwraith and its former archaeologist Phileo Nash (University of Chicago trained), the Royal Ontario Museum with its "bad" diggers such as Boyle and "good" ones like Ken Kidd as well as the "enemy to the north" the archaeological department of the National Museum with Wintemberg, a "good digger," Leechman, a "bad digger," and its long history of anthropological research done by Sapir, Harlan I. Smith, Diamond Jenness, Nickerson, *et al.* Little did I suspect I would end up in the "enemy's" camp.

It was not until the end of the 1940s when "Poppa" Cole was leaving that both Norm and I came to the conclusion Chicago was about to become some kind of social anthropological hell and no longer an archaeological paradise. Already we were refused permission to take such interdisciplinary classes as plane table mapping and geology, and now there would be fewer classes in archaeology under the new head we had dug with, Ken Orr, and more social anthropology under Redfield, Tax, Warner, Eggan, *et al.* Norm had an out, for he had a job at the University of Toronto and to escape I had accepted the North American Aboriginal fellowship at the University of Michigan under Jimmy Griffin (MacNeish 1952c). This fellowship meant I became part of the Delaware project then under the tutelage of Johnny Whitthoft who was doing the ethnohistory. I was to do the field archaeology and little by little Griffin got me started on Iroquois pottery (Ritchie and MacNeish 1949).

In the fall of 1949 as a final part of my Iroquois pottery type study with my newly developed "*in situ* theory" (MacNeish 1952a), before I returned to Tamaulipas, Mexico (MacNeish 1949, 1950, 1954c), I decided to investigate Canadian Iroquois pottery. This meant I was off to Toronto to see Emerson as well as a young student, Tom Lee, a Canadian who had worked in Ontario. He had sought me out at the University of Chicago, for he was very discouraged with its new programme in 1950 and took my advice to transfer from Chicago to the University of Michigan. As I studied Lee's Neutral and Emerson's Iroquois potsherds, both urged me to look at Wintemberg's material at the National Museum in Ottawa. They felt the sequence from Uren to Middleport to Lawson and the historic Neutral tribe backed up my "*in situ* theory." Fortunately I knew Douglas Leechman at the museum and he had been much impressed at various conferences by my work on Iroquois so a telephone call got me an invitation to the basement storerooms.

The next day on the way to the basement, out of politeness, Doug asked me why I was going to Tamaulipas and what was I looking for. My first explanation of what I was doing drew a blank questioning stare, so to help him out I said that Tamaulipas was an area people talked about ancient people migrating through but never went to explore — like your MacKenzie River hypothetical early man migration route (MacNeish 1951, 1953). With this his face lit up and he asked if I liked pioneering exploration in places like that and I said, "Yes," and turned to the potsherds.

Four hours later Leechman appeared in the storerooms to take me to lunch. On the way to the elevator he said, "I talked over your project with Dr Alcock, the head of the museum, and we would like to have you do it here." It was my turn to be dumbfounded — Tamaulipas; National Museum of Canada — no way! So I stalled for time and asked what would be my headquarters and when would we start. The answer was, "Yellowknife, and in the summer after you finish in Mexico." Now it dawned on me he was talking about the Mackenzie River, so after lunch I excused myself to go to the bathroom and instead went to the museum library around the corner. Here was a large map of Canada and as I was staring at it finding Yellowknife, a pretty librarian, Miss Davies, asked if she could help and I told her of my plight. Soon I had Diamond Jenness's *Indians of Canada* in hand and a quick perusal showed the Hare, Slave, and Dogrib tribes inhabited "my" area. Also the Department of Transportation of Canada book told of paddle-wheels on the Mackenzie from Hay River to Aklavik, and its map showed the location of Great Bear, Great Slave, and Athabasca Lakes, various trading posts, like Fort Providence, Fort Simpson, Fort Wrigley, and Fort McLeod, and by 1:30 I was ready.

As I told my proposal to Dr Alcock, I could see his eyes light up; he loved the "bush" and "NORTH" and soon he was making suggestions of who I would see in Yellowknife, the trader at Fort Wrigley, the guide at Goldfields, what the bugs would be like, *etc.* and *etc.* After filling out some employment forms, I left Ottawa after telephoning my new wife, June, and telling her that at least we had a summer job after Tamaulipas.

Months later in Tamaulipas I received another form that had to be filled out and stamped by a Member of Parliament or Public Notary. For ten pesos it got stamped by a Notary Public in Cuidad Victoria, Tamaulipas, Mexico, with a big red seal with ribbons and I went back to digging up what were then the world's earliest corn cobs, in La Perra Cave (MacNeish 1954c). Suddenly it was June and I was off by air from Tampico to Chicago to Ottawa then by train (in three days), to Edmonton, Alberta; then a plane to Yellowknife. My archaeological work in Canada for the next 20 years had started.

For me personally, it had been a hectic year in Mexico, as was my introduction to Canada and the survey in the Boreal Forest of the "NORTH." Perhaps the best way to show how really busy I was is to quote part of my first annual report (MacNeish 1951a):

> On June 22, I left Ottawa for Edmonton, stopping briefly at Winnipeg and Saskatoon in a futile attempt to obtain archaeological information concerning the regions to the north. After a short stop in Edmonton I was flown to Yellowknife, Northwest Territories, arriving on the 27th of June. For ten days in Yellowknife, I discussed with various authorities on the northern country the actual and possible locations of sites, the general plan of procedure, the equipment necessary, and the many other details necessary for exploring. From these discussions a general agenda for the survey was made. First, I would go to the Mackenzie region, since ice was still formidable in much of the area around Great Bear and Great Slave Lakes; then to the Great Bear and Great Slave area; and finally to Lake Athabasca, as the weather stayed better longer in this more southerly region. On July 6, I went to Fort Providence at the headwaters of Mackenzie River and from the 7th to the 19th travelled by canoe, surveying, with my guide, One-eyed Laferty, the river shores from Fort Providence to Norman Wells. Then I returned to Yellowknife via Edmonton on the 23rd of July. On the 25th of July, my guide, Mr Sam Otto, and I were flown out into the barren lands east of Great Slave Lake. We briefly stopped at Aylmer Lake, Musk Ox Lake, and Artillery Lake. However, from July 26 to August 2, we intensively surveyed the area from the north end of Artillery Lake to Clinton Golden Lake, on foot and by canoe. On the 2nd of August, we returned to Yellowknife via Fort Reliance. On August 4, a visit was made to Yellowknife Hydro-Electric plant. On August 6, in company with a small party, a survey was made of parts of MacKay

year	position	area	sponsoring institution	amount of time
1949	Anthropologist Gr. III	Northwest Territories	National Museum of Canada	3 months
1950	Anthropologist Gr. III	Port Arthur, Ontario	National Museum of Canada	1 month
1950	Anthropologist Gr. III	Northwest Territories	National Museum of Canada	3 months
1951	Anthropologist Gr. III	Northwest Territories	National Museum of Canada	3 months
1951	Anthropologist Gr. III	Manitoba	National Museum of Canada	2 months
1952	Anthropologist Gr. III	Northwest Territories	National Museum of Canada	3 months
1952	Anthropologist Gr. III	Manitoba	National Museum of Canada	2 months
1953	Anthropologist Gr. III	Manitoba	National Museum of Canada	4 months
1953	Anthropologist Gr. III	northeast Mexico	National Museum, Harvard University, American Academy of Arts & Sciences, and American Philosophical Society	1 month
1954	Anthropologist Gr. III	northeast Mexico	National Museum, Harvard University, American Academy of Arts & Sciences, American Philosophical Society, and DeKalb Seed Company	4 months
1954	Anthropologist Gr. IV	Yukon-Northwest Territories	National Museum of Canada	3 months
1955	Grantee	northeast Mexico	National Museum of Canada, John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, American Academy of Arts & Sciences, and American Philosophical Society	3 months
1955	Senior Archaeologist Gr. IV	northern Yukon	National Museum of Canada	4 months
1956	Senior Archaeologist	Flin Flon, Manitoba	National Museum of Canada	1 month
1956	Senior Archaeologist	northern Yukon	National Museum of Canada	3 months
1957	Senior Archaeologist	southern Yukon	National Museum of Canada	4 months
1958	Archaeologist	Honduras & Guatemala	American Philosophical Society	1½ months
1958	Senior Archaeologist	Flin Flon, Manitoba	National Museum of Canada	½ month
1958	Senior Archaeologist	northern Yukon	National Museum of Canada	3 months
1959	Archaeologist	Chiapas, Mexico	New World Archaeology Foundation	1½ months
1959	Senior Archaeologist	southwest Yukon	National Museum of Canada	3 months
1960	Senior Archaeologist	southern Puebla, Mexico	Private Funds	2 months
1960	Senior Archaeologist	southwest Yukon	National Museum of Canada	3 months
1961	Senior Archaeologist	southern Puebla, Mexico	R.S. Peabody Foundation	1 month
1961	Senior Archaeologist	southern Puebla, Mexico	R.S. Peabody Foundation	6 months
1961	Senior Archaeologist	southwest Yukon	National Museum of Canada	3 months
1962	Senior Archaeologist Gr. VIII	southern Puebla, Mexico	R.S. Peabody Foundation	6 months
1962	Senior Archaeologist	Nova Scotia	National Museum of Canada	½ month
1963	Senior Archaeologist	southern Puebla, Mexico	R.S. Peabody Foundation	10 months
1964	Senior Archaeologist	southern Puebla, Mexico	R.S. Peabody Foundation	9 months
1965	Professor, Department Head	Fort Liard, NWT	University of Calgary, Calgary	½ month
1965	Professor	Guerrero, Mexico	University of Calgary, Calgary	½ month
1966	Professor	Highland Peru	R.S. Peabody Foundation	3 months
1967	Professor	Fort Liard, NWT	National Research Council	3 months
1968	Professor	Fort Liard, NWT	National Research Council	½ month

Table 1. Field Experience (during Canadian residency).

> Lake, Courageous Lake, and Lac de Gras; on the following day Contwayta Lake was visited, and on the 8th, brief stops were made at Point and Providence Lakes in the Coppermine River drainages. On my last day in Yellowknife, there was an opportunity to make a brief reconnaissance at Indian Lake and at Taltheilei Narrows in the east arm of Great Slave Lake. On August 11, my theater of operations was moved south to Fort Smith, and from the 12th to the 15th the area between Fort Fitzgerald and Little Buffalo River was surveyed. On August 16 a site was found at Hill Island Lake and at Beaverlodge Lake Portage on Lake Athabasca. August 17, 18, and 19 were spent reconnoitring the region around Goldfields on Lake Athabasca, and August 20 and 23 were spent at Fond du Lac. During the final days, August 25 to 27, a survey was made around Stoney Rapids [before heading] for Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, stopping briefly at Black Lake and Lac la Ronge. From Prince Albert, I returned to Ottawa. During the survey, about 9,000 miles were covered, forty sites discovered, and 225 artifacts were collected.

For me, 1950 was even more hectic, for before I even got to the Northwest Territories I stopped over in the Thunder Bay district of Ontario and dug a Plainsview Paleoamerican site on an ancient (8000 BP), Lake Algonkin beach (MacNeish 1952b). Then in early June, it was on to Winnipeg, Manitoba to begin a programme in that province. Here the local amateurs were of great help and took me to various sites including the huge Archaic Larter site as well as the beautifully stratified Lockport site. This month of survey would have been considered a season's work for many, but for me it was just the beginning and I moved on to Edmonton to start my real season. Again, let me quote myself (MacNeish 1953):

> The author went from Edmonton to Peace River, Hay River and on to Fort Simpson. From Fort Simpson a trip with 'Dick' Turner was undertaken up the Liard and up the South Nahanni River as far as just north of Deadman's Valley. Then I returned to the Liard River and went upstream to Fort Liard. At Fort Liard short trips were made to sites nearby, including one with microblades. After returning to Fort Simpson the survey continued down to Fort Norman where the season ended. In 1951 the survey started at Fort Norman with a trip up the Great Bear River and along the western shores of Great Bear Lake. Next, I went back to Fort Norman and gradually worked my way down the Mackenzie River, stopping at all forts, villages, or likely looking sites down to the mouth of Peel River near Aklavik. After a brief stop-over at the mouth of the Peel and at Fort McPherson, the survey went up Peel River for 90 miles and back. Then a brief side trip from Fort McPherson over McDougall (Rat) Pass to Bell River and back was undertaken. As it was getting late in the season, I returned to Norman Wells and made a brief trip up the Canol Road for 80 miles.

And then I went back when landslides closed the road. Needless to say, since such exploration trips were often poorly planned and always underfinanced, adventures were numerous. That Rat River trip stands out in my memory, for it started on the float of our Beaver aircraft that flew us in from Ft. Norman by my wading ashore in shoulder deep, frigid water at Loon Lake; then I spent four days slopping along in the Muskeg and Rat rivers with a guide who had only seen the route frozen in winter, had a confrontation with a grizzly, which I killed at fifty feet near the 'mad trapper's cabin,' and finally made a white-water river trip on a raft made by tying logs together with strips of the flannel sheets of my bedroll. However, these initial attempts of systematic survey were a great success, for our number of Northwest Territories sites went from three to sixty-two, a 2000 percent increase in two seasons.

Here is another case of serendipity, for in 1950, after I had received some Ottawa news-

paper publicity about finding microblades at Ft Liard, Northwest Territories, I had them laid out on my office table at the National Museum (MacNeish 1954a). As was my habit, to get peace and quiet when nobody was at our end of the museum hall, I was studying them during my lunch hour. Presently I heard some footsteps, coming my way, and then a polite knock on my office door. I opened it and there was a quite little white-haired man smiling at me. He shyly asked if he could come in, and when I hesitated he quietly said, "To see the microblades you just dug up." Always willing to talk archaeology, I invited him in and after three or four more comments about the artifacts on the table I realized this was no man off the street, so I asked who he was. He smiled shyly, shook my hand, and said, "I'm Diamond Jenness." I was amazed. Here was one of the "greats" of Canadian anthropology and archaeology. Almost before I could recover and start asking questions, he looked at his watch and said lunch was over and he must go before all those people in the museum who did not like him would appear. Then as he went out the door he gave me his card and said, "Why don't you and your wife come and have supper with us next Wednesday?" This began a 20 year friendship.

Almost from my first meeting with Jenness in his house near the Rideau Canal, he quizzed me about what archaeology was being done in Canada in the period from 1948 through 1950. From 1949 to 1969 is the period of Canadian archaeological history I know, for I was there and this is a part of Canadian archaeology that has never been told and there are few alive who know much about it. The year 1948 had been a very bad one with literally Kenneth Kidd at the Royal Ontario National Museum and McIlwraith at Toronto working in Ontario and a German language instructor, Carl Borden, at the University of British Columbia, testing shell mounds in that province, being all that was undertaken. Slightly better was 1949 because, on my recommendation, we had hired Tom Lee, a graduate student I had met at Chicago and sent to the University of Michigan to join the Toronto group working in Ontario. Dr Henry Collins of the Smithsonian was working in co-operation with us in the central Arctic, Carl Borden had expanded his activities in British Columbia, and Leechman was wandering around the Yukon. Also, Jim Pendergast, then in the Canadian Army, turned up with Iroquois potsherds in my office and as an enlightened amateur began his career in Iroquois archaeology. Later, when he retired, he became Bill Taylor's 2IC and exploited the civil service, for Bill Taylor, expanding programmes as only an old army hand can do.

After hearing the long description, Jenness commented it was not a very good showing for a country as big as Canada and my response was that in 1950 and 1951 it had been slightly better, but was still pretty poor. For in my second year crossing Canada I had met a few of the amateurs or semi-pros out west, John MacGregor in Alberta, Chris Vickers and Walter Hlady in Manitoba, and Boyd Wettlaufer in Saskatchewan, and began to realize the great archaeological potential of the country. As I commented on the potential of these areas, Diamond told about what had been previously done in some of these areas — Harlan I. Smith in British Columbia, W.B. Nickerson in Manitoba, Junius Bird in Alberta, the Rogers in western Quebec, and the various amateurs in Saskatchewan.

It was not until my third session that Fall I realized Diamond had tried to get archaeological projects going in all parts of Canada during his years of directorship, but for one reason or another it had never happened (often it had been stopped by political infighting and Sapir's idea that "ethnography was disappearing, but the archaeology would always be there"). Further, it gradually came out that he thought the major function of the National Museum of Canada should be to initiate archaeology in all parts of the country, but then to let other locals carry on the work. He knew enough about the practical politics of Ottawa to conclude that the National Museum would never have enough money or positions to cover all the areas, hence our policy should be to start working in an area in co-operation with local people until they could take over and then move on to the next area and do the same thing until little by little there was archaeology underway everywhere in the coun-

Figure 1. R.S. MacNeish (right) and W.E. Taylor examining remains of ancient foods in MacNeish's Museum office about 1955–56. CMC photo no. J1018.

try. It was years later, following noontime discussion with Bill Taylor, that this became the official policy for the National Museum.

On the immediate level, neither Jenness nor I was running archaeology and all we could do was discuss the possibility of Bill Taylor (Figure 1), at the time another young Canadian graduate student at Michigan, carrying on (and using the funds) of Collin's central Canadian Arctic programme. Also, I had seen the beautifully stratified Lockport site in Manitoba and we were discussing a research programme in that province. Another young student, Boyd Wettlaufer, was now being paid by us to start a programme in neighbouring Saskatchewan with the hope he would eventually do research sponsored by that province.

It might be added that in the 1951 season, before I went north, I dug the Larter and Lockport sites in Manitoba and later, in September and October after I had been frozen out of the north, I briefly excavated part of the historic Cree site at Alexander Point and the Anderson site in Manitoba (MacNeish 1958a, 1959c). In the winter I went, at my own expense, to Mexico to bring out, for analysis, plant remains and carbon samples I had excavated in the 1949 season in Tamaulipas (MacNeish 1955a, b, 1956f). This was the start of my seasonal round of working in the Yukon in the summer and

Mesoamerica in the winter. It was a pattern that brought forth a relatively complimentary comment from one of my Eskimo friends to the effect that, "Doctor, you, at least, have as much sense as a duck — go south in the winter, come north in the summer."

The year 1952 saw me once again work before and after freeze-up in Manitoba and the months in between, mainly July and August, in the Northwest Territories. This season was, however, different, for except for some minor survey in the Whiteshell area of southeast Manitoba, I was doing mostly excavation. The digging season started after an adventurous riverboat trip down the Nelson and Liard rivers near Fort Liard and after recording the Pointed Mountain and Klondike sites down to Mackenzie River to the Great Bear River to Fort Franklin where we excavated the Franklin Tanks and Great Bear River sites (MacNeish 1954d, 1955c, d). Finally, it started to freeze, so back to Manitoba to dig the Stott mound and village site near Brandon, Manitoba, until the snow closed me down at the end of October (MacNeish 1954b). The winter was spent writing-up and getting into print the six sites we excavated and then in spring we got ready for another field season in 1953.

Thus 1951 and later 1952 saw more archaeological programmes in Canada. Ontario had me at the early man Brohm site as well as Tom Lee, Kenneth Kidd, Norman Emerson, and Wilfred Jury; Manitoba had me and Wettlaufer doing excavation; Saskatchewan had excavations by Wettlaufer; British Columbia had Carl Borden continuing survey and excavations; Leechman was taking pictures in the Yukon; I was in the interior of the Northwest Territories; while Collins and Taylor were excavating in the Arctic at Southampton Island.

We were inching ahead but 1953 added a new twist when I received a call, almost a summons, to come down for cocktails at the Chateau Laurier with a Mr Eric Harvie from Calgary, Alberta who wanted to discuss archaeological problems and buying archaeological and ethnographic specimens. Shortly after I was ushered into his suite by his various oil roughneck henchmen, I found out he, Mr Harvie, was an oil millionaire from Alberta who along with the purchase of a considerable amount of western Canadian oil rights, had also acquired some archaeological and ethnological artifacts. What he wanted to know from me was what to do with them and would I be his advisor — "dollar a year man" — when he purchased more. I more or less agreed, but before I could discuss it with Diamond, two of Mr Harvie's men had to find out "if I was good for the Old Man." This consisted of inviting me downstairs for supper — an excuse for some frank tough talk and hard drinking. Not only did they find out I was just as tough as they were, but at the end of the evening I poured one of them, Mitch, into bed while the others passed out on the floor. Thus I became "one of the good Ol' Boys" and archaeology was about to begin in Alberta.

Except for a brief foray into the Yukon (MacNeish 1954d), most of my 1953 digging was in Manitoba for slightly over four months in which we dug five sites (MacNeish 1955d, 1956b, c). These were the stratified Cemetery Point and the non-stratified Sturgeon Point, Tuokko and Waulkinen sites in southeast Manitoba, and the stratified United Church site in southwest Manitoba (MacNeish and Capes 1958), which gave for the first time a nice unbroken 7000 year sequence for the northern Plains-Prairie area.

Thus by 1953 we had archaeology being done from Ontario to British Columbia as well as in the Yukon and Northwest Territories and it continued on this same broad front into 1954 with one major difference: Doug Leechman left the National Museum to become head of Mr Harvie's new Glenbow Foundation in Alberta with the result that I became chief archaeologist of the National Museum of Canada. This meant that the policy of Diamond and me could be directly implemented rather than speculated about.

There was an interruption in my activities in Canada while I went off to Mexico field work (MacNeish 1958b, c; Whitaker, Cutler, and MacNeish 1957), but I was back doing survey on the Yukon-Northwest Territories coast by whale boat and on foot in 1954 for three months (MacNeish 1955e, 1956d). It was in this season that we found the fabulous Engigstciak site with a possible 20,000-year sequence, but every province and territory had ongoing archaeological projects which continued into the next year (MacNeish 1956a).

In 1955 the central Arctic saw Elmer Harp, Henry Collins, Bill Taylor, and Claude Desgoffes doing research while I dug on the Firth River in the northern Yukon. Tragically, George Moffet was to lose his life while doing archaeological reconnaissance in the Northwest Territories. We partially supported Carl Borden's digs in British Columbia.

The newly-formed Glenbow Foundation (upon my behind-the-scenes recommendations) hired Bill Mulloy and Marie Wormington to study early man remains in central Alberta. Saskatchewan saw Boyd Wettlaufer finishing up his research, but a new provincial museum with a permanent position for an archaeologist was on the way. I still passed through Manitoba and Chris Vickers was excavating in the south part of the province. Lee, Kidd, and Emerson continued in Ontario, while an amateur, Frank Ridley, did some survey and excavation. And now for the first time things began to happen in the maritime provinces. I sent Jerzy Zaborski to do survey in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island while Ed Stoddard of the Peabody Museum of Andover and Jim Harper of the New Brunswick Museum worked in New Brunswick.

Next year, 1955, and 1956 we went back to dig Engigstciak on the Yukon Arctic coast and got great stuff that somehow never got completely analysed because necessary interdisciplinary studies were incomplete and the reports by the experts never written. Worse yet, nobody has even been back to this site to exploit its great archaeological potential (MacNeish 1956e, 1957a, b). At the end of the season I distinctly remember going to the Jenness' summer cottage in the Gatineau that Fall to tell Diamond all about our progress and remember him shyly asking me, "What about Quebec?" However, our discussions were getting very interesting, for now they were not on what part the National Museum had played in the archaeology developing in Canada, but on how could these tiny programmes grow and when more Canadians, not Americans, were going to do them. My answer to this was that we were hoping to hire Bill Taylor, and told Diamond what a great Arctic-Eskimo researcher he was going to be; little did I know that he was to turn out to be an administrator who in the 1970s would expand "our unstated policy" to heights Diamond and I never dreamed of. 1956 and 1957 saw our programmes further expand and now for the first time some permanent archaeological positions began to appear in the west. Dick Forbis was hired by Glenbow and became the father of Alberta archaeology. Bill Mayer-Oakes, after doing a salvage operation for the Saskatchewan government was then hired to be the archaeologist for the University of Manitoba. The position of archaeologist at the provincial museum in Saskatchewan continued and eventually the Kehoes replaced Wettlaufer. On the west coast, Wilson Duff had become provincial anthropologist and Carl Borden and his researches were at last included in the UBC anthropology and sociology department's programmes. Katherine Capes also dug for the National Museum on Vancouver Island.

Ontario, as might be expected, continued to have an expanded programme not only under Tom Lee and Ken Kidd, but now Norm Emerson dug along the St Lawrence Seaway while even George Quimby and Jimmy Griffin got into the act — doing a survey north of Lake Superior. Also, work was under way in Quebec — by Gordon Lowther, then of McGill University — while Doug Byers and Ed Stottard still worked in and out of New Brunswick. About this time, quite by accident, another kind of archaeology made its appearance. This was to be initiated by Jack Herbert, who had worked with me at Tom Moody's museum on Denar Beach in Saskatchewan near Flin Flon, Manitoba. He had been the historic archaeologist for the province at that time and was to move to Ottawa to form the Historic Sites and Monument Board which was to expand historic archaeology in Canada.

Archaeology was on the move on every front and the National Museum even hired, once again, a physical anthropologist, Larry Oshinsky, to assist with the Eskimo studies as well as organize the bones the archaeologists were digging up. Yet in spite of all this, Canadians still had an inferiority complex about their archaeology.

Perhaps the best example of this was the incident that transpired when the Aswan Dam was to be built. Nasser, President of Egypt, had requested the members of the UNESCO Commission countries to come and salvage the archae-

ology of the area and, of course, Canada, a critic of the UN salvage programme, was also asked. Thus I was called by the Department of External Affairs to do something about it. It just so happened I was in contact with Phil Smith who had been at Harvard when I had my Guggenheim there. He not only was a Newfoundlander from the maritime provinces of Canada — but he had just got his Ph.D. from Harvard in Old World Prehistory and he was looking for a job back in Canada in his field; but, of course, there weren't any. After I told External Affairs that we could handle the job, not at the $6000 which they knew was our normal annual budget for expedition, but probably at $100,000 a year, I contacted Phil.

We met for a long Saturday luncheon in the newly-built Ottawa airport and discussed the matter. He had great ideas to the effect that rather than take an area or zone of the dam basin "we" Canadians would concentrate on a major problem — the Sebilian — the transition from the Palaeolithic to the Mesolithic — a completely unknown portion of Egyptian prehistory. He also figured out how to do it cheaply, quickly, efficiently, and with maximum co-operation (diplomatically and scientifically) with the Egyptians — the host nation. Shortly thereafter I called External Affairs and told them that we had a plan, only to find bureaucracy had reared its ugly head and that we of the Museum were to be part of a "national" committee representing three major institutions, each of which would submit plans of their own. Since this smelled of nationalism and/or federalism and the age-old conflict between Montreal, Ottawa, and Toronto. I sent our good young Canadian Bill Taylor to represent us. The meeting proved to be symbolic of the state of our art in Canada. The representative of the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts suggested the best the Canadians could do was to take their money and buy on the black market illicit papyri from the looters. The representative from the Royal Ontario Museum thought what we should do with our $100,000 was to "buy a jolly good houseboat for the British expedition." Then Bill submitted our plan, which in the days of Canadian groping for national identity was immediately accepted — a great surprise to everyone. I knew we had found an archaeological administrator and committeeman *par excellence*, Bill Taylor! Even better, Canada had a great archaeologist working in the Near East, Phil Smith, and he was to do Canada proud in this field for the rest of his life.

But back to archaeology within Canada. The 1957 field season saw a whole new programme in the southwest Yukon. This area — particularly along the Alcan Highway — had earlier been surveyed by Fred Johnson and Doug Leechman and while we did some more survey, mainly in 1957, our basic purpose was to get a chronology by digging stratified sites. So, in this first season, besides survey work, we tested the Callison site in northern British Columbia (MacNeish 1960a). After that, working with a small group, we dug in 1959 in the westernmost part of the southwest Yukon Territory (MacNeish 1961a–d): first at the Little Arm site on Kluane Lake, then at Taye Lake north of Champagne, and finally on the high bluffs at Canyon Creek (MacNeish 1959a–d). The first and the last were stratified. I might add further excavations were undertaken at Canyon Creek and although the author of the report never realized it, they beautifully confirmed our phase sequence from Champagne to Little Arm to Gladstone.

In 1960 our major activities were at a stratified early site at Gladstone Creek in the Big Arm of Kluane Lake, but we also tested a site at Aishihik, one on the Little Arm and one at Moosehide further north near Dawson City (MacNeish 1960b, d, e). Our final major season in 1961 was based at Pelly Farm on the Pelly River near its confluence with the Yukon at Fort Selkirk. It again was a stratified site, but we tested some single component ones at Aishihik, Fort Selkirk, and at Carcross on Bennett Lake. It was a busy three years and once again we built up a 10,000-year unbroken cultural sequence (MacNeish 1962a, b).

Meanwhile, the Museum had entered a period of unbelievable turmoil. It was precipitated by the retirement in 1957 of the Director, Dr Alcock. Factions soon emerged, old and new alignments came into play (including some along the familiar Francophone/Anglophone lines), and the atmosphere shortly became very tense and thoroughly unpleasant. There were accusations of misappropriation or redirection of research funds and people were denounced as liars.

Then one side decided to go public with the dispute and the *Globe and Mail* carried a front page story headed, "Top Brass Dissension Rocks National Museum." Of course there were follow-up stories, fed by a few who were very willing to escalate the battle in this manner. As it turned out, the price for this brief fame was their jobs.

In the meantime, I, playing the role of the good civil servant, and although much maligned in print, refused all comment or requests for interviews. However, that still didn't keep me out of the papers. My picture appeared, along with the comment I was "an American who would not talk."

When it became clear "our" side would prevail, the defeated took revenge by having an ambitious Member of Parliament (whom we referred to as the Senile Senator from Saskatchewan) ask some thirty questions about me to my Deputy Minister, which were published in the parliamentary record, *Hansard*. The questions were all libellous, but in Canada one can't sue a Member of Parliament for what he says in the House of Parliament. They were at the level: "Is it true Dr MacNeish receives funds from the US State Department to control Canadian archaeology as well as use Canadian funds to work in Mexico?" Obviously the answer was, "No" to this and all the other innuendoes. Although I even got my curriculum vita published in *Hansard*, it was hard on one's nerves. I was about ready to leave the museum when serendipity set in again.

In the spring of 1963, MacGregor of the Edmonton Archaeological group invited me to speak. Somehow Dick Forbis got word of it and went to Mr Harvie, who had been using me as an advisor on buying an ethnographic collection for eight years, to ask for a fee and transportation to bring me down to Calgary to speak to his students. The Glenbow people and Mr Harvie willingly agreed to finance my speech with the stipulation that I have lunch with him the next day. So all was set for a pleasant trip west, neatly scheduled just before I left for Mexico to finish the Tehuacan corn project.

The speech on the Plains Archaic went well in Edmonton and next morning I hopped the commuter plane for Calgary. That evening I gave my speech at the University, still a branch of the University of Alberta in Edmonton, but about to separate. The speech was about advances in archaeology in Canada during the last ten years. In the question period it became apparent there were many Calgary faculty members in the audience and the questions revolved around, "Are we training Canadians to do Canadian archaeology?" It was a lively session so at the end Dick Forbis invited us to his home to have a few drinks and carry on the discussions. It was going to be a long evening; many sympathetic statements about my political persecution in Ottawa were made and eventually it came out that I was unhappy at the Museum and might leave. There followed an invitation to come to the new University about to be formed in Calgary. Finally, well after midnight, the group settled down to four: Dick Forbis; Henry Zentner, the head of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology; Malcolm Taylor, the protem acting President of Calgary; and myself. Now the invitation was beginning to get concrete and the questions were, "Would I like to head the Department of Sociology-Anthropology at Calgary?" The answer was a resounding, "NO!" Next came, "What about an anthropology department?" but both Forbis and I advanced the opinion most anthropology departments in the US were not turning out very good archaeologists. Further discussion, mainly with Henry Zentner, revealed that while our students might have to have an undergraduate background in general anthropology to become qualified archaeologists, after such on the B.A. level they would then move on to an archaeology department. The President, Malcolm Taylor, pricked up his ears and said, "Are you talking about a graduate department and an archaeological department like no one else has?" Forbis and MacNeish, after some hemming and hawing, answered in the affirmative and emphasized that with such a department we would have a new type of academic curriculum but also would emphasize fieldwork and the use of museum specimens. Someone said, like Glenbow has, and someone else said, like the one Mr Harvie supports with his funds.

The discussion then got on to what courses and staff would be needed and how other interdisciplinary courses like ones already taught at

Calgary would have to be part of the programme. It went on and on all night, until by 4:00 a.m. we had a curriculum for a graduate archaeological department on both the M.A. and Ph.D. levels. As I rose shakily to my feet, to squash any such possible development, I said, "It can't happen next year, for I'm going to Tehuacan so don't get your hopes up," and so off to bed in my motel, the Highlander.

Sometime about 11:00 a.m. the ringing phone shook me out of a sound sleep and bad headache. It was Mitch — one of Mr Harvie's men. His words were, "The Old Man likes your idea. Come on down for lunch to discuss it at the Curling Club." What idea? Mitch replied, "The one the President of the University of Calgary just told the Old Man about! He thinks it's great, so bring your plan with you." What plan? "The one you talked about last night, and tell him how much it's going to cost and don't hold the horses!" I staggered into the shower, got dressed, took a taxi to the Curling Club, and was ushered into a room with Dr Taylor, the pro-tem President, and a smiling Mr Harvie, and three or four of Mr Harvie's accountants. Last night's reality set in, and I figured the Forbis–MacNeish pipe-dream was about to disappear.

Well, I said first of all you're going to need a starting staff — a couple of archaeologists, a physical anthropologist, and an ethnological-anthropologist, and me at a much higher salary than I'm getting. Heads nodded, and Mr Harvie and the President decided with half from him and half from the University there were no problems. Then, I'm going to need graduate students. What about six fellowships? One of Mr Harvie's assistants said, well, the province ought to give us one, Imperial Oil a couple, Calgary Chamber of Commerce a couple, and Glenbow could provide the rest. What about a University field school? We will just expand Forbis's summer digging programme. What about the library; it has very few books on archaeology? Mr Harvie responded, "Dick told me Harvard is selling Sam Lothrop's library for a song. Why don't we get it at a bargain price?" On it went. I threw up roadblocks and Mr Harvie and the University were mowing them down, when suddenly there was a knock on the door. It was Dick Forbis saying it was time to take Scotty to his plane. The University President and everybody smilingly shook hands, assured me that everything would be arranged, and wished us good luck in Tehuacan saying they would see me in Calgary a year from now in the fall of 1964. On the way to the airport I summarized what had happened to a grinning Dick Forbis and he assured me all would be ready when I arrived next year.

As I snoozed on the way back to Ottawa it all seemed like a dream. Next, I informed Ottawa I was resigning and then set off to Tehuacan. The 1963–4 season there was exciting. We made great discoveries in our corn hunt, and before long it was the summer of 1964 and Mexico's rainy season was terminating our project (MacNeish 1961e–h, 1962a; MacNeish and Nelken 1961). We, my new wife Diana and I, were on our way in our fully packed Volkswagen bus to Calgary.

Finally, about a week before school opened in September, we rolled into Calgary to be greeted by Dick Forbis. As promised, he had done a great job. Everything was ready. We had offices on the 4th floor of the library, right above the floor with the canteen where all bull sessions occurred. By "we" I mean we had a staff, for besides Dick and me as archaeologists, he had hired Albert Heinrich, ethnographer and linguist, and I had gotten my old pal Jimmy Griffin to recommend a physical anthropologist, Charlie Eyman, who was a graduate student (legally) and teacher (illegally). Further, the library was in the process of acquiring Sam Lothrop's collection from Harvard. Further, thanks to Mr Harvie's fellowships, we had five graduate students apart from Charlie Eyman: Barney Reeves, field assistant to Dick Forbis; Bob Chadwick, who had worked with me in Tehuacan; Bill Noble, who Emerson had sent us from Toronto; and Ron Nash, who Mayer-Oakes had sent us from Manitoba. Further, early on in the semester, a mining consultant, Jim Millar, walked into my office to inform me he wanted to become an archaeologist and give up his lucrative career in mining consulting. I looked at his scholastic record and told him he couldn't do graduate work in archaeology because he lacked five courses in anthropology and four in general archaeology or allied fields. We argued and got the admittance down to 7 and he informed me

he would take six now and four next semester. When he registered, he was told three courses were the legal limit and extra would have to go to a committee. I went to a half-dozen committee meetings on the matter, being told no student could possibly pass such a load, but the meetings took so long the semester was over. In the next meeting I told the committee he had just passed courses with five As and a B+, so the problem was solved and he became an adjunct (whatever that is) graduate student.

But the reality of academic life was about to set in, for I was told our B.A. programme was not quite right with only five courses — Introductory Anthropology, Ethnology, Physical Anthropology, Linguistics, and Social Anthropology (taught by the Sociology-Anthropology Department). We needed nine courses. So we roughed-up descriptions of four more: Introductory Archaeology, New World Archaeology, Old World Archaeology, and summer field school. Then they were argued through and ruled on by a committee on standards, *etc.*, *etc.* It took hours for the professors from England wanted to make sure the Americans were not lowering Canadian standards. Questions were asked of every course. The War of Independence was being refought twice a week.

In the middle of these discussions, I informed them this was just the beginning, for I wanted Masters and Ph.D. programmes passed this year. Hundreds of hours later, by Thanksgiving, we had the Masters programme in place. By Easter we had a Ph.D. programme approved, but we were informed that we had to have an outside referee for this programme, and they had chosen from the august University of Toronto, my old pal Norm Emerson.

It was quite a review. Each day for three days they had morning meetings about the programme and then in the afternoon Norm went off with my graduate students to drink and be poured into bed at the Highlander Motel. Things moved along smoothly enough, although one afternoon the review committee called him to clear-up a matter about which they were concerned and he blurted, "Stop worrying! Scotty will do it right!"

It was quite a year, with what seemed like thousands of hours of faculty meetings as well as the tasks of planning programmes and getting teachers for our doctoral interdisciplinary courses: Physics for the Archaeologist, Bones (palaeontology) for the Archaeologist, Geomorphology for the Archaeologist, Soils for the Archaeologist, Plane Table Mapping for the Archaeologist, Statistics and Computer for the Archaeologist, *etc.* All those things I wished I had at the University of Chicago in my graduate days! These courses were made possible with a little seed money from Mr Harvie that helped other departments on campus join our interdisciplinary programme.

Also, as I petitioned for two more professors for our second year of operation, I was told our ratio of students to professors was insufficient. We pondered this for quite some time and then late one night at a student party a new idea was born. Why not have a huge Introductory to Archaeology course that would allow the pre-meds and all geologists to get that credit in the social sciences. The students would run it and its lab, give some of the lectures; they would get each professor to give a lecture on his subject, and pay or beg any archaeological visitor to give a lecture and show a half dozen good archaeological movies (including my corn one). This started the first semester of the second year with 40 students and by the second semester we outgrew our classrooms with over 80 students, then next year 120, to eventually about 300 using the University theatre as its classroom. Everybody on campus knew of us, young doctors liked archaeology, and petroleum geologists spread the archaeological word around the world. It was quite a beginning and our student:faculty ratio was beyond reproach.

The second year started even better. During registration I went off with Jim Millar with his Cesna 180 to look for a site (for his thesis) in the Northwest Territories and when I came back was told we had five new graduate students — three of them from Ontario and they had brought their Ontario Provincial fellowship or stipends, with them to Alberta. This, coupled with Mr Harvie's money, made a buddy of the University President, Armstrong, and our Scotch graduate dean, Jim Hein, became a firm friend. Further, we had a new professor from Harvard, Vladimir Markovic to teach the Archaeology of Europe, the Near East, and Africa, and Eyman was to teach Evolution and Human Osteology. Besides, we had a staff of interdisciplinary pro-

fessors (thanks to Mr Harvie's seed money), Dr Grayson Meade from Union Oil teaching palaeontology — Bones for the Archaeologist — using the extinct animal bones I had Otter Geist send me from his front yard in Alaska; Natt Rutter of the Geological Survey was teaching Soils for the Archaeologist; an assistant dean, Treniuck, teaching Physics for the Archaeologist; and eventually a Polish World War II hero using his own company planes to teach Aerial Photography and aerial photo interpretation, and so on.

It was a hectic year, 1966, with great Calgary students who made for great discussions, but more than that, "the word was out." We got inquiries and requests for application forms not only from all over Canada, but many parts of the United States. We were reversing the brain drain and students everywhere loved our programme, whether other academics (mainly U.S. anthropologists) did or not. It might be added, eight of our ten graduate students were on some sort of fellowship. I made all in the Fall apply for other non-Calgary fellowships, so I could use Mr Harvie's money for six other working graduate students. Since they were the best, six of the other eight got new fellowships — Killams, Alberta, Canada Council, *etc.*, so we started with twelve fellowships and of course this made the Calgary administration happy and even the President attended some of the lectures by visiting dignitaries in the swelling "Introductory Archaeology" class. We also gave our first doctor's prelims and all but one passed them and the orals. Everything was going great; and better yet I was turning over more and more of the administration with its interminable faculty meetings to Al Heinrich who was growing into a good administrator. Perhaps next year I could go back to research?

Unfortunately, such was not to happen in our banner year of 1967, for the local, jealous academics jumped on Heinrich to get revenge on "those arrogant archaeologists" so I had to attend just as many faculty meetings as before. Also, though I now had an efficient secretary and we had moved to bigger quarters, we were flooded with great graduate students — some 20; 18 of which had some financial aid as well as summer digging jobs. Oh to be a Calgary graduate student! Here we not only had Bob McGhee leave Berkeley to come back to Canada, but we had Les Davis and George Arthur from Montana, Brian Gordon from Washington State, Carole Crumley from Michigan, and others. My seminar on Method and Theory was explosive — always ran over class times and I heard later (even as I was in faculty meetings) it often continued for four or five hours more in the lab.

It was all very stimulating, but had its downside, for before long I had 12 students doing their theses under me. Officially, they were to have six hours of time per week, but of course the good ones I loved to talk with never came in because the three lemons were taking nine hours a week to get me to "write" their theses. Six hours teaching, 12 hours meetings, 22 hours student advising, 20 hours in the administration, 10 hours student or faculty problems (stealing from the bookstore, getting drunk in the University truck and ending up in the Calgary jail, *etc.*), and 15 minutes on my own research. This was my typical week and I liked it less and less, but we were very successful turning out well-qualified archaeologists who in the next period were to flood the Canadian archaeological market. In fact, with Roger Marois we at last had a French-Canadian Ph.D. who later not only was in the National Museum, but taught at the University of Montreal (along with Phil Smith) and turned out French-Canadian archaeologists.

Nonetheless, after I came back from the Peabody Foundation at the end of the summer of 1968, where I had been working on my Tehuacan books and where I could get a research job at half the salary, I decided to resign. I somehow felt that with the Vietnam mess and the bad Binfordian and CRM archaeology, my country and it's archaeology were going "to hell in a handbasket" and it was time to return to help it out if possible. It was a tearful goodbye in the fall of 1968 to the assembled 30 or so graduate students, our now-blossoming undergraduate programme, six faculty members, and a dozen or so interdisciplinary faculty. However, the programme was going great, the students were the best, doing top notch research and getting jobs and fellowships. For me, the era and my "visit" to Canada were over in the spring of 1969.

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Chapter 7

Reflections on Encounters with Archaeology

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Abstract
Bruce Trigger traces his central concerns as they have shifted over the years from settlement archaeology to changes in Native American culture, the history of archaeology, and the comparative study of early civilizations. At all times he has been guided by a desire to explain the specificities as well as the cross-cultural regularities that are manifested in the archaeological record. He argues that, despite its largely international and theoretical orientation, his work is defined by some fundamental characteristics of Canadian scholarship in the humanities and social sciences. These include a preference for moderation rather than extremism and a tendency to modify and build on existing scholarship rather than to reject it outright. Ironically, this has led to a series of confrontations with what he regards as oversimplified explanations of human behaviour.

Résumé
Trigger déligne ses intérêts fondamentaux en tant qu'ils ont changés depuis les années soixante de l'archéologie de l'établissement jusqu'à l'évolution de la civilisation des autochtones de l'Amérique du Nord, à l'histoire de l'archéologie, et à l'étude comparative des hautes civilisations de l'antiquité. Il a toujours été inspiré par le désir de rendre compte des différences culturelles aussi que des ressemblances qui se manifestent dans le témoignage archéologique. Il raisonne qu'en dépit de son optique plutôt internationale et théorique, son oeuvre se montre accusée de certains traits distincts du savoir canadien aux sciences humaines. Y sont inclues une tendance de favoriser la modération plutôt que de se jeter dans l'extrême et de modifier et de pousser plus loin le savoir actuel plutôt que de le démolir et repartir de zéro. Ironiquement, cela lui a mené dans une série de débats contre les explications de la conduite humaine qui sont selon lui trop simplistes.

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My academic life has been influenced by an early desire to understand why people behave as they do. Born in Preston, Ontario of English, Scottish, and German parentage, my earliest memories include accounts of Nazi brutality narrated by refugees living in my neighbourhood. These were followed in 1945 by the horrifying revelations of the Nazi extermination camps. Thus I became aware that not everyone behaved like the decent and peaceful inhabitants of my home town. Because of my family background I was unable to take refuge in the opinion prevalent among Canadians of British descent that Nazism had happened because the Germans "were not like us." The result has been a low-keyed, but lifelong effort to understand cruelty, violence, and oppression that I have never experienced personally but which has been a pervasive feature of the world in which I live. Hence part of the motivation for my studying early civilizations and their small-scale antitheses.

I am astonished when I read academics of my generation discoursing on the importance to their careers of having made the correct strategic choices of subjects to study, peers to interact with, professional meetings to attend, and journals in which to publish (Axtell 1994). My own academic career was never marked by significant attention to such issues. Instead it has been dominated by trying to answer questions that interested me, often with little concern about how one project related to another or any of them fitted into larger intellectual movements. While this has led to various confronta-

tions with the representatives of tendencies that differed from my own, I have always regarded these confrontations, or indeed scoring points of any sort, as far less important than advancing my own and my students' understanding of puzzling and intractable problems.

In February 1996 I was invited by the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago to review the development of archaeology as I had experienced it over the past forty years. This was one of ten talks by senior anthropologists (but the only one by an archaeologist) that were billed as "Anthropology Postwar/Premillennial Intergenerational Conversations." I welcomed this opportunity to review my work and consider to what extent the disparate problems I have addressed might add up to more than the sum of their parts. I also wanted to resolve in my own mind how much truth there was in the opinion attributed to Lewis Binford that the author of *Beyond History* (Trigger 1968) was cut out to be a shoe salesman (Schiffer 1995:3); a profession for which I feel no aptitude. The talk I gave is the basis of this paper.

Beginnings

I wanted to be an archaeologist long before I enrolled at the University of Toronto as an undergraduate in 1955. Although I grew up in a region where the work of William Wintemberg and Wilfrid Jury was well known and "Indian relics" could be found on every family farm, my interest in archaeology developed from a quite commonplace childhood infatuation with ancient Egypt that survived my reading and rereading Gordon Childe's then widely available *What Happened in History* (Childe 1942). At Toronto a comprehensive series of undergraduate courses in archaeology was offered only in Anthropology, so I enrolled in that department. The department was at that time a small unit, but students received a high-level of instruction, at least in sociocultural anthropology. William Dunning, a Cambridge graduate, familiarized us with current debates in British social anthropology, while Ronald Cohen made us aware of recent developments in American neoevolutionism. My personal preference was for Evans-Pritchard's (1962) historically-oriented social anthropology, which — uniquely at that time — recognized that a historical perspective was essential for understanding functional integration. I recall how impressed I was when I first read his *The Sanusi of Cyrenaica* (Evans-Pritchard 1949).

I can also testify from my memories of those years that at least in its terminal phase Boasian-inspired culture-historical archaeology could be as dismal as the most hostile caricatures later portrayed it. The principal anthropological archaeologist at Toronto was J. Norman Emerson, who held a doctorate from the University of Chicago, was steeped in the traditions of Fay-Cooper Cole, and had what, even to undergraduates, appeared to be an excessive desire to win the approval of the New York State archaeologist William Ritchie. My postwar sense of Canadian nationalism was appalled by his subservient attitude. Emerson's specialty was southern Ontario prehistory. Working with him for two summers, I learned how to excavate, classify artifacts, use trait lists to define archaeological cultures, and seek to understand how diffusion and migration had shaped specific aspects of the archaeological record. The major controversy in Ontario archaeology in those days was whether the prehistoric Huron Indians had migrated in late prehistoric times from the Toronto area north some 50 miles into Simcoe County, as Emerson (1954) maintained, or south from Simcoe County to the Toronto region, as advocated by Emerson's nemesis, a high-profile amateur archaeologist, Frank Ridley (1952). Emerson also familiarized his students with a conventional continental prehistory that had every new cultural pattern introduced by a fresh wave of immigrants to North America.

The Head of the department, Thomas McIlwraith, an autocratic, self-styled Boasian ethnologist (although he had studied at Cambridge University), fully subscribed to the prevailing view that archaeology was the lesser part of anthropology, and more ominously let it be known that he regarded archaeology students as less gifted and hence inherently less worthy of support for graduate fellowships than were sociocultural ones. This was a view of archae-

ology that Emerson took care not to contradict with students, even in private. I came close to deciding that if this was all archaeology had to offer, it might be better to do graduate work in social anthropology.

I had more important reasons to doubt the wisdom of pursuing a career in archaeology. In 1958 Childe's *The Prehistory of European Society* was published posthumously. In it Childe developed with greater clarity than he had done previously the idea that society constituted the structural matrix in terms of which individual items of culture acquired their functional significance. He also argued that, because social and political structures conformed to a narrower range of types than did cultural patterns, they constituted the ideal basis for a cross-cultural study of archaeological data. This suggestion resonated with what I knew about social anthropology. Yet Childe was more preoccupied with detailing the problems and limitations of this approach than with demonstrating its potential. His discussions of the goals and methods of archaeology were riddled with misgivings about how little could be learned about prehistoric societies from archaeological data alone. Perhaps prehistoric archaeology truly was as limited as I feared.

Settlement Archaeology

All this changed during my fourth year at Toronto when I took a course in New World archaeology offered by William J. Mayer-Oakes, an American archaeologist who taught there for a few years, before moving on to Winnipeg and later to Lubbock, Texas. Through him, students became aware of the impact that Julian Steward and other neoevolutionary anthropologists were having on archaeology, especially by stimulating an ecological approach to understanding cultural change. The invention of radiocarbon and potassium-argon dating was making it possible for the first time to compare developmental sequences in different regions of the world and to consider rates as well as relative sequences of change. These methods also revealed that changes almost invariably had occurred more slowly than archaeologists hitherto had believed, thus increasing the possibility that local innovation, rather than diffusion and migration might account for them. These developments were predisposing archaeologists to consider evolutionary explanations in a more favorable light. Joseph Caldwell's (1958) *Trend and Tradition in the Prehistory of the Eastern United States* provided an important demonstration of the extent to which environmental change, population increase, and sedentarization could offer more convincing and interesting explanations than did diffusion and migration for many of the changes in the prehistoric archaeological record of eastern North America.

What specifically and dramatically changed my life was Mayer-Oakes' assigning me to write a report on Gordon Willey's (1953) *Prehistoric Settlement Patterns in the Virú Valley, Peru*. Instead of a traditional culture history, I discovered that Willey had used the detailed archaeological understanding of the cultural sequence of this coastal valley to date the distributions of different types of settlements and irrigation works associated with each period and these distributions in turn to infer major changes in population densities, adaptations to the environment, community organization, and political organization from the beginnings of agriculture until the Spanish conquest in the sixteenth century. Rather than viewing social and political phenomena as attributes of culture, as culture-historical archaeologists did, Willey interpreted them as an evolving system of social relations that provided a behavioral context in terms of which other aspects of culture acquired their functional significance. Thus, in addition to recognizing social organization as a legitimate object of archaeological study, as Childe was to do later in *The Prehistory of European Society*, Willey provided an analytical tool for studying prehistoric social organization. Willey's approach also led him to stress longterm continuities in the population of the Viru Valley rather than the differences between successive archaeological cultures, as culture-historical archaeologists would have done. Thus he interpreted change in terms of internal social transformations rather than attributing it primarily to migration and diffusion. For me, this book

was a truly astonishing revelation of how archaeology might address the sorts of problems that were of interest to social and evolutionary anthropologists. Today, more than 40 years after it was published, the book is recognized as one of the great milestones in the development of archaeology. It is indicative of the lack of regular communication between British and American archaeologists as late as the 1950s, and perhaps of Childe's general lack of interest in New World archaeology, that this great archaeologist remained unaware of a source that provided the methodology for which he was vainly searching in his final years.

Willey had been persuaded to undertake the study of settlement patterns in the Viru Valley by Julian Steward. Already in 1938 Steward and Setzler had published a paper in *American Antiquity* in which they had argued that archaeologists as well as ethnologists could contribute to a better understanding of cultural change by adopting an ecological approach. This would require archaeologists to stop focusing almost exclusively on the stylistic analysis of artifacts and to begin to use their data to delineate changes in subsistence economies, population size, and settlement patterns. Yet Willey's pioneering of a settlement pattern approach was not accompanied by an espousal of Steward's ecological materialism. Willey did not deny that ecological factors played a significant role in producing settlement patterns, but he observed that many other sociocultural factors were reflected in this aspect of the archaeological record and was unprepared to view all of them as shaped primarily by ecological adaptation.

Instead Willey chose to treat settlement patterns as a source of information about many aspects of human behaviour. They reflected "the natural environment, the level of technology on which the builders operated, and various institutions of social interaction and control which the culture maintained" (Willey 1953:1). Above all, he stressed the potential of settlement data for studying the economic, social, and political organization of ancient societies. What archaeologists did not recognize clearly until more systematic attention was paid to the nature of the archaeological record in the 1970s was that the advantage of settlement data as a source of information about human behaviour derived from the fact that, while most artifacts are found in contexts of disposal rather than in ones of manufacture and use, settlement patterns provide direct evidence about the settings in which human activities were carried out (Schiffer 1987). Willey's novel emphasis on social and political organization and his presentation of settlement pattern studies as a method or approach that could be pursued without commitment to ecological determinism as a high-level theory powerfully appealed to my own understanding of anthropology, which was more influenced by British social anthropology than by either the Boasian or the American neoevolutionary approaches.

To do graduate work in archaeology in the late 1950s it was necessary to leave Canada. The University of Toronto had the only graduate programme in anthropology but it was still embryonic and the small staff had little more to offer students who had followed their undergraduate courses. Thus it was that I began graduate studies at Yale University in 1959. There I was encouraged to pursue my interest in settlement patterns, which by then had become a significant focus of innovation in American archaeology. Through my supervisor, Michael Coe, I was personally introduced to Gordon Willey and became familiar with Robert Adams' (1965) work in Iraq. Kwang-chih Chang began to teach at Yale in my final year and we enjoyed a warm friendship based on our mutual interest in the settlement pattern approach. Soon after I passed my comprehensive examinations, I became involved in archaeological survey work and excavations in Egyptian Nubia that were being carried out by the Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition to Egypt under the direction of my co-supervisor, the Egyptologist William K. Simpson. This work was being done as part of UNESCO's efforts to rescue archaeological data and sites threatened by the construction of the Aswan High Dam. My doctoral dissertation, titled "Archaeological Settlement Patterns and their Archaeological Interpretation: A Case Study from Nubia," finished in June 1963, was an attempt to use data that had been systematically collected over the previous 60 years to trace the changing size and distribution of population in

Lower Nubia between 4000 B.C. and A.D. 1200. In this study, as in most research on ancient Egyptian settlement, population distributions had to be inferred largely from cemetery data. I concluded that changes in four major variables — environment, technology, volume and organization of trade, and prevalance of warfare — were adequate to account for general population trends and the changing distributions of population in Lower Nubia. Environment turned out to be the primary determinant of population distribution and agricultural technology the primary determinant of population size.

Because I attempted to ascertain how specific factors brought about changes in settlement patterns, my approach was more generalizing and processual than Willey's pioneering study had been. In that respect my dissertation bore some resemblance to what was soon to be called New or Processual Archaeology. Yet, being absorbed with our own work, neither I nor the other archaeology graduate students at Yale noticed Binford's earliest programmatic statement, "Archaeology as Anthropology," when it was published in *American Antiquity* in 1962. I titled the published version of my dissertation *History and Settlement in Lower Nubia* (Trigger 1965), which aligned it symbolically with culture-historical rather than processual archaeology, as this dichotomy developed in the late 1960s. I later regretted having made it so easy for others to label my work in this manner. I have never been particularly astute or lucky when it comes to academic politics.

New Archaeology

During the 1960s, Binfordian processual archaeology positioned itself as the cutting edge of archaeology in the United States and began to spread internationally. Inspired by the work of Leslie White and Julian Steward, this new approach combined ecological determinism, unilinear evolutionism, and the privileging of a deductive approach. Binford believed, and continues to believe, strongly in the regularity of human behaviour and cultural change and hence was opposed to the historical particularism of Boasian anthropology. He also believed that all important aspects of sociocultural systems were reflected in the archaeological record. Hence he was convinced that ethnoarchaeological studies would quickly establish correlations between material culture on the one hand and human behaviour and beliefs on the other that would permit archaeologists to infer all the important aspects of prehistoric human behaviour from archaeological data (Binford 1962, 1965).

Ecological determinism, neoevolutionism, and cultural materialism constituted mutually reinforcing movements within sociocultural anthropology that were growing in importance through the 1960s. At that time it seemed possible that a set of practices grounded in materialism and behaviorism might eventually come to dominate the whole of anthropology. Ironically, the hegemonic position that these propositions enjoyed within archaeology during the 1970s contrasted with their rapidly ebbing importance in sociocultural anthropology as cultural anthropology, which formerly had been identified with the study of culture and personality, revived and flourished under such labels as structuralism, cognitive studies, semiotics, and postmodernism.

Yet it is not surprising that in the 1960s many archaeologists saw materialism and behaviorism providing a welcome escape from the last vestiges of a Boasian anthropology that even in its late, more configured, versions seemed to have run its course. The idea that archaeologists could use their data to produce generalizations about human behaviour that would have utility for modern life gave their hitherto esoteric discipline welcome relevance in an era when the practical value of the social sciences was highly prized. The prospect that archaeology might address major anthropological and social issues raised the morale of archaeologists, who had been forced to endure decades of contempt as second-rate anthropologists. As the New Archaeology stridently asserted its claims, a growing number of archaeologists, especially young ones, took pride in the increasing theoretical sophistication of their discipline.

My personal reaction to the New Archaeology was mixed. I sympathized with its propo-

nents' desire to transcend the limitations of traditional culture history and admired their efforts to provide a more rigorous interpretive methodology, even if their views concerning scientific method seemed unrealistically narrow and most of their early case studies were far from convincing. The scorn that some conservative archaeologists, such as Jacquetta Hawkes (1968) and Paul Courbin (1988), have heaped on their work seems to be indicative of these critics' own limitations. Processual archaeology has contributed in many important ways to a better understanding of the significance of archaeological data and, by forcing all archaeologists to become increasingly explicit and self-conscious about their goals and methods, it has promoted the development of archaeology.

My main problem was that I did not agree with the major tenets of processual archaeology. Having taken courses in human geography at the University of Toronto, I was aware of the limitations of ecological determinism. Like most British social anthropologists, I favoured possibilism, which still seems to me to be eminently sensible. Binford's deductive method, which was linked to his belief in ecological determinism, likewise clashed with my conviction, reinforced by studies with Irving Rouse at Yale, that data were best used to test multiple working hypotheses (Chamberlin 1944). From reading of Gordon Childe and Henri Frankfort, I had developed strong reservations about the unilinear tendencies of neoevolutionism; including those of Julian Steward, who despite his overall multilinear approach argued that all early civilizations had originated under similar conditions and developed along similar lines (Steward 1949). In contrast Childe (1928) and Frankfort (1956) had both noted that civilization had evolved very differently in Egypt and Mesopotamia. Early in its development Egypt had been united to form a single territorial state ruled by a divine monarch, and its high culture had developed under the patronage and control of the royal court. In Mesopotamia complex society had emerged as a cluster of independent and competing city states. Childe (1951) had also demonstrated how, under very different ecological conditions, the same complex of plants, animals, and metallurgical processes had given rise in Europe to societies that were radically different from those that had evolved in the Middle East. Childe's evolutionary studies further had revealed the danger of ignoring diffusion and cast doubt on Steward's (1955:182) claim that every borrowing could be construed as "an independent recurrence of cause and effect." Childe's efforts to explain change in terms of cultural traditions interacting with a changing technological base assigned a role to human agency that was lacking in Binford's evolutionism.

Finally, processual archaeology was cold, if not hostile, to settlement archaeology. Binford (1968:12–13) dismissed settlement studies as being only a method that lacked ties to any specific high-level theory. For him, it only had meaning when it was practised within an ecological framework by archaeologists such as William Sanders (Sanders *et al.* 1979). Stuart Struever (1968) went still further and described settlement patterns as epiphenomena that could be explained and predicted, provided archaeologists had sufficient data concerning population densities and subsistence patterns.

Beginning in the late 1960s, I protested against processual archaeology's unilinearism and ecological determinism (Trigger 1970, 1978a) and sought to demonstrate that the complexity of the archaeological record was such that accounting for individual situations in their contingent reality was as important as delineating and explaining general trends in human history. I was not attempting to stifle either evolutionary or ecological studies, but sought to frame these within what could be regarded as a more realistic understanding of human behaviour. In my opinion, Binford had adopted a far too simple and regular view of human behaviour. Like Childe, I saw cultural traditions and diffusion providing knowledge that people use, reject, or modify in their efforts to achieve specific goals. I did not, however, emphasize at that time as much as I might have done, consciousness, intentionality, and cultural perceptions as important elements involved in this process. That is hardly surprising. My background in social anthropology and subsequent work in settlement pattern studies had inclined me to favour the same behaviorist approach as did processual archaeologists.

Iroquoian Studies

Both processual archaeologists and culture-historical ones sought to characterize me as a defender of traditional culture-historical archaeology; the processual ones to discredit me as hopelessly old-fashioned (Plog 1968; Schiffer 1995 [1975]:46) and the culture-historical ones to claim me as one of their own. As processual archaeology expanded, I saw no short-term hope for the middle ground and gradually withdrew from what seemed to be an unproductive fray.

I strove instead to combine archaeological and historical data to construct a history of the Huron (Wendat) Indians of southern Ontario from late prehistoric times until their dispersal during the period of the seventeenth-century fur trade (Trigger 1976, 1985). My work on the Hurons, which I had begun as a graduate student (Trigger 1960), made me increasingly aware of the rapid pace of social change already in prehistoric times, of the tenacity with which they and other Iroquoians maintained egalitarian institutions as their settlements and political units grew larger, and of the great and varied impacts on aboriginal peoples of being drawn into relations with Europeans. Long before Immanuel Wallerstein (1974) published his studies of the modern world-sytem or Eric Wolf (1982) had applied these ideas in his *Europe and the People without History*, I was aware of the kind of transformations that were brought about by European contact. The basic ideas for analysing such relations were already available in Harold Innis'(1930) *The Fur Trade in Canada*_and Edward Spicer's (1962) *Cycles of Conquest*, dealing with the American Southwest.

This research reinforced my awareness of the complexity of forces shaping human history, although it did not undermine my belief that material constraints account for a significant amount of overall patterning. I was impressed by the great gap that often existed between what people attempted to accomplish and the actual outcomes of their actions. I also grew more aware of cultural diversity as a result of noting major structural differences between the tribal societies of eastern North America and those of the Pacific region that had provided many of the data used for neoevolutionary theorizing (Sahlins 1958; Service 1962). But, above all, as a result of close contacts with professional historians, I became aware of the extent to which, while objectifying facts, most of them regarded their interpretations as little more than expressions of opinion. As Christopher Hill (1975:15) pointed out, "History has to be rewritten in every generation, because although the past does not change, the present does." This relativism at least partly reflected the complexity of factors involved in concrete historical situations and the difficulties involved in recognizing and assessing the importance of each factor (Roberts 1996).

At the same time I encouraged my graduate students to investigate the changing subsistence and settlement patterns associated with individual prehistoric Iroquoian communities in southern Ontario. Because swidden agriculture had caused the frequent relocation of these communities, their sites provided a fine-grained record of economic and social change, as well as of changes in population, at the regional level. These studies demonstrated the Malthusian, rather than Boserupian, nature of population change that had accompanied the introduction of agriculture (Warrick 1990), as well as complex feedback relations linking warfare, community size, political alliances, and agricultural intensification (Pearce 1984; Timmins 1992; Williamson 1985). Their findings moved Iroquoian archaeology far from the culture-historical concerns of my undergraduate days towards an engagement with mainline anthropological problems. Following my Huron research, my personal contributions to Native Studies mainly have taken the form of editorial work on the *Northeast* volume of the *Handbook of North American Indians* (Trigger 1978b) and the *North America* volume of *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas* (Trigger and Washburn 1996).

The Rebirth of Cultural Archaeology

It was as a fortuitous consequence of my work on the Hurons that I turned once again to theoretical issues and began to study the history of archaeology. This happened as the result of a

talk that I gave at the University of Southampton early in 1977. I had argued that processual archaeology's preoccupation with producing universal generalizations exacerbated the alienation that Native people felt towards the discipline. In the discussion that followed Colin Renfrew suggested that Native people should be pleased that evidence relating to their past was being used to promote science. My indignation at this remark, which was fueled by a growing realization of the great injustices suffered by aboriginal peoples now as well as in the past, spurred me to write "Archaeology and the Image of the American Indian" (Trigger 1980). In that paper I sought to demonstrate that, throughout the course of Euro-American history and down to the present, social attitudes have influenced the way in which archaeological data are interpreted. But I also argued that a growing corpus of evidence relating to American Indian prehistory had slowly narrowed the ways in which such data could be interpreted responsibly and that this in turn had challenged strongly held negative stereotypes. This moderately relativist view of social science theory was one that I had held for a long time (Trigger 1967) and continue to hold, despite gradually moving away from a positivist view of scientific data as givens towards the realization that facts are culturally constructed. I was not the first person to argue that social prejudices influenced archaeological interpretation (Silverberg 1968). Yet the interest my paper aroused indicated archaeology was moving in new, and for me far more congenial, directions.

Throughout the period when processual archaeology enjoyed hegemony, most archaeologists interpreted human behaviour as rational responses to ecological problems. As a group, they showed very little interest in culturally specific factors and, when some of them did, it was mainly to discover how these factors could be construed as part of a rational calculus. When, at an archaeological conference on the explanation of cultural change, held in Sheffield, England in 1971, Edmund Leach (1973:764) reminded his audience that human beings "are not just part of the natural world governed by `natural laws' [but] have a unique human capability . . . to alter the state of their surroundings intentionally," he sounded like a visitor from the past or another planet. In the estimation of many archaeologists, culture as meaning was not only unknowable archaeologically, but not worth knowing.

Beginning in the late 1970s, there was a growing rebellion against the intellectual constraints of processual archaeology. Initially much of this dissatisfaction centered around processual archaeology's inability to deal, except in an highly reductionist fashion, with religious beliefs. It could not escape notice that material culture relating to religion bulked very large in the archaeological record of most complex societies, even if it was relatively scarce or absent in the remains of the modern hunter-gatherers and the Lower and Middle Palaeolithic societies that Binford (1983) studied. These concerns encouraged a growing number of archaeologists to develop an interest in various forms of cultural studies, including structuralism, neo-Marxism, hermeneuticism, and postmodernism (Hodder 1991). Accepting the proposition that humans perceive reality by culturally encoding it, many proceeded to identify reality with subjective understanding, which they sought to make the primary object of archaeological investigation. These new approaches emphasized consciousness and intentionality, and made the culturally and historically specific once again a legitimate part of the agenda of archaeological research.

These approaches, which in recent years collectively have come to be designated as postprocessual, have undermined the deterministic force accorded to ecological factors and at the same time have exposed the subjective and culturally biased nature of archaeological interpretation, especially in relation to ethnicity, gender, and class. This has produced a shift of interest away from explanations framed in terms of economically and politically rational calculations to a concern with culturally-specific knowledge. Though limited by their data base to studying material culture, archaeologists committed to such an approach have begun to participate in anthropological debates about the extent to which cultures have a deep structure, merely tend towards some kind of psychological consistency, or are integrated primarily in

relation to fulfilling the minimum number of functional prerequisites that are necessary to maintain social viability (Trigger 1982; Preucel 1991; Preucel and Hodder 1996). Many archaeologists are also expressing growing doubts about Binford's claim that, because the production of artifacts was influenced by all subsystems of culture, formal artifact assemblages and their contexts can yield a systematic and comprehensible picture of extinct cultures.

Binford, like Leslie White, had assumed that social organization and religious beliefs, and their material correlates, were shaped by patterns of technologically-mediated ecological adaptation and hence reflected this adaptation. On the basis of a series of brief ethnoarchaeological studies that he carried out in various parts of Africa, Ian Hodder (1982) was able to demonstrate that material culture does not merely reflect ecological adaptation or sociopolitical organization but in many instances is an active agent in group interaction. Material culture can be used to distort and disguise as well as to reflect group identities, power relations, and beliefs. It is shaped by the strategies that competing social groups employ in their dealings with one another. The importance of Hodder's demonstration of this must not be underestimated. *Symbols in Action* will rank alongside Willey's Viru Valley report as one of a few key publications that have irreversibly altered the practice of archaeology.

As a result of these developments, I began to feel more optimistic about the state of archaeology than I had since processual archaeology had come to dominate the field (Trigger 1984). High-level theory was no longer a matter of dogma in archaeology, but once again could be discussed and contested, as to varying degrees it always had been in the rest of anthropology. Concerns with behaviour were being complemented by a growing interest in its cognitive correlates, as seemed appropriate in a social science. Instead of dividing into monolithic, rival processual and postprocessual camps, archaeologists of both tendencies were championing a broad range of alternative positions, each of which sought to demonstrate that it could help to make better sense of archaeological data. While some more conservative archaeologists feared that these seemingly disorderly debates might undermine the general credibility of their discipline (Watson 1991), many others, myself included, welcomed them as a way forward both in terms of the development of theory and because they seemed to be promoting a more rounded and accurate understanding of the past.

Such fears as I had about what was happening were focused on a number of extreme subjectivists who appeared to be denying that there was any basis for judging one interpretation of the past to be any more or less valid than another (Trigger 1989a). These intellectual nihilists seemed to me to represent a greater danger to archaeology than ecological determinists ever had, since inadvertently they were calling into question the very reason for archaeology's existence. Processual archaeology's assessments of the limitations of the archaeological record and its continuing insistence on adequate levels of verification for knowledge claims have helped to balance the more extreme approaches of some postprocessual archaeologists (Schiffer 1987).

These developments in archaeology inspired me to undertake two projects. The first was writing *A History of Archaeological Thought* (Trigger 1989b). Processual archaeologists had argued that the history of archaeology was irrelevant to a positivist discipline and that the time spent researching this topic could better be used to assemble systematic compendia of established theories (Schiffer 1976:193). My view had long been that the social context in which a discipline is practiced influences not only what questions are asked, as Binford agreed, but also what kinds and levels of evidence are accepted as conclusive. Individuals clearly require less proof for what they already believe than for what they do not accept to be true. It was also evident to me that postprocessual archaeology was reinventing many of the basic ideas of culture-historical archaeology, just as neoevolutionary archaeology had revived or recreated many of the tenets of nineteenth-century evolutionism. Although these rediscoveries seemed to be part of an upward spiral of understandings rather than simple reinventions, I thought it important for archaeologists to know more about the his-

tory of their discipline in the hope that this might encourage them to benefit from past experiences and avoid repeating past mistakes. I also sought to demonstrate that, while archaeological knowledge is always largely context dependent, over time, as a result of the resistance of a growing corpus of archaeological data, a more objective and comprehensive understanding has been achieved. My aim was to strengthen an epistemology grounded in moderate relativism in opposition to ones based on either positivism or extreme relativism. I sense that this position, which has much in common with Alison Wylie's (1993), continues to gain ground.

My second big undertaking, still in progress, has been a cross-cultural comparison of seven early civilizations around the world in order to determine in what ways their economic, social, political, religious, and cultural patterns do and do not resemble each other. My aim is to shed light on the ways in which human behaviour is influenced on the one hand by cultural traditions and on the other by rational adaptive considerations. To accomplish this, I have sought to avoid privileging either similarities or differences as many previous comparative studies misleadingly have done. Nothing I have researched previously has drawn so much on the training in anthropology that I received at Yale from George Peter Murdock and the Human Relations Area Files.

So far I have documented very considerable differences from one early civilization to another in the ways in which surpluses are produced and appropriated by elites; more limited, but still considerable, variation in political and spatial organization; surprising uniformity in the basic structure of religious beliefs; and idiosyncratic diversity in art styles and a sense of what constitutes an ideal life (Trigger 1993). The shared belief that the cosmos functions as a series of energy flows by means of which supernatural forces sustain human life, while human beings in turn sustain the gods with offerings that the upper classes channel back into the supernatural realm, can be interpreted as a projection onto the supernatural plane of the tributary and governmental relations that bound commoners and rulers together in all these societies. The constraints shaping these beliefs were not ecological calculations of efficiency or security, but reflections on the most crucial features of the social order. This in turn suggests that Childe (1958) erred in seeing social and political organization as being cross-culturally the most ordered aspect of sociocultural systems and cultural patterns the most idiosyncratically variable. In some cases, practical reason appears to produce considerable uniformity in general patterns of beliefs. This reinforces the view that both practical and cultural reason play significant roles in shaping many aspects of human behaviour. But that raises the question: what kind of roles?

A Synthesis New or Old?

In Childe's later works, such as "Social Worlds of Knowledge" (Childe 1949) and *Society and Knowledge* (Childe 1956a), he introduced archaeologists to a cognitive understanding of human behaviour. He characterized culture as taking the form of individual cognitive maps, much as Anthony Wallace (1961) was to do in *Culture and Personality* a few years later. Childe also maintained that human beings never adapt to the world as it really is, but to the world as they imagine it to be. Yet he cautioned that the world as imagined had to possess a reasonable similarity to the real world if human groups were to survive (Childe 1949:6–7). Few archaeologists of the 1950s who bothered to read these works knew what to do with such ideas. Most probably agreed with Christopher Hawkes (1954) that, while the most distinctive and interesting feature of human beings is their mind, because of its material data base, archaeology is doomed to study the generically animal rather than the specifically human aspects of human beings. Moreover, in America of the McCarthy era, archaeologists tended not to discuss the theoretical writings of self-styled Marxists. Ironically, many of Childe's new ideas were inspired by his exposure to Boasian anthropology, especially when he helped Robert Braidwood to edit "Human Origins," a self-study syllabus for ex-soldiers who were attending the University of Chicago as undergraduates after the Second World War.

Processual archaeology made great progress by assuming that technological processes, subsistence patterns, and many other aspects of economic and social behaviour are shaped by universally persuasive (and therefore universally comprehensible) calculations of self-interest, such as energy conservation, minimizing ecological risk, maximizing nutrition, and ensuring a more secure control of resources. Such material constraints are real and clearly play an important role in influencing human behaviour. Yet, because all human behaviour is cognitively, and hence culturally, mediated, archaeologists must recognize that, while this sort of approach demonstrates that various properties of the natural world were understood and utilized in prehistoric times, it does not reveal the specific cultural categories that were employed in such analyses.

The scientific study of faunal remains may indicate that prehistoric hunter-gatherers normally pursued animal species that offered the highest caloric return for energy expended in hunting them. Yet it is highly unlikely that these hunter-gatherers analysed cost-benefits in caloric units as a modern anthropologist would do. In specific cultures the efficiency of hunting may have been calculated in terms of the relative spiritual power of the hunter and his prey or the quality of the spiritual relations between a hunter and the spirits that controlled animal behaviour. The Crees of northern Quebec were able to conceptualize in traditional religious terms knowledge about the natural realm that clearly exceeded that possessed by Euro-Canadian environmental experts and used such knowledge to sustain highly successful relations with their environment over several millennia (Tanner 1979). Slowly I have come to understand that cultural reason and practical reason are not alternative or antithetical modes of thinking, since all reason depends on culturally mediated concepts. It is rather a matter of what anthropologists can translate into the language of practical reason, as they define it, and what they cannot.

The influence and limitations of postmodernism are evident in a recent paper in which Paul Budd and Timothy Taylor (1995) argue that ritual and magic should be assigned a central place in explaining the emergence of copper and iron metallurgy in Europe and Asia. In particular, they blame Childe for promoting the idea that the development of metallurgy represented an early triumph of rationality and technological know-how over crippling superstition. Curiously, the most recent work by Childe that they cite was published no later than 1944. Yet, in his later writings, Childe (1950) repeatedly stated that primitive science was a mixture of technological skills and magic. He also observed that religious beliefs, magic, and superstition leave their mark on the archaeological record no less than does practical knowledge. Even earlier Childe (1935: 59–60) had accepted enough of Grafton Elliot Smith's speculations about the "magico-religious aspect of ore-finding and metal-making activities" that he probably would have been prepared to agree with Budd and Taylor (1995:141) that it is "the power of magic . . . not the rise of science which accounts for the trajectory of Old World metallurgy."

Yet Childe, who recognized the culturally-specific nature of all knowledge, went on to argue that, while what we identify as the practical knowledge involved in technology can be inferred using universal generalizations, the culturally-specific "language" in which this knowledge was encoded and the other culturally-specific beliefs that adhered to technological knowledge would, in the absence of historical data, oral traditions, or relevant ethnographic information, remain inaccessible. The strictly limited number of practical solutions to any particular technological problem permits such processes to be inferred in considerable detail. On the other hand, the specifics of magical and religious beliefs are so diverse that an archaeologist has no hope of inferring such beliefs from archaeological data alone. Hence, as processual archaeologists were to do later, Childe (1956b:45) believed that the understanding of prehistoric knowledge would remain restricted largely to activities that were technologically and ecologically constrained. Such knowledge would relate mainly to practical results, not to the subjective goals, intentions, and methods of its possessors. It was this same problem that Leach (1973:768) had in mind when he cau-

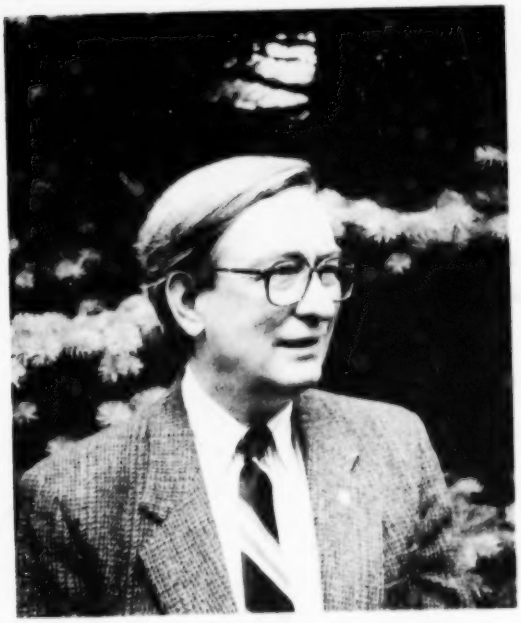

Figure 1. Bruce Trigger in July 1997.

tioned archaeologists that "all the ingenuity in the world will not replace the evidence that is lost and [you archaeologists] need to be on your guard against persuading yourselves that you have discovered more than is actually discoverable."

It is only marginally more possible to infer culturally-specific beliefs from material culture alone than it is to reconstruct specific languages from such evidence. Despite efforts by structuralists such as Ian Hodder to refute this position, Childe's basic argument has not been disproved. This does not mean that, where other types of information are available, as is the case among historically-related cultures, much symbolic meaning cannot be read into archaeological data. Nor does it mean that, where cross-cultural regularities can be found in general patterns of belief, it is impossible to obtain some general insights into what specific groups of people may have believed in the past. Yet this does not warrant archaeologists believing that what they know is either all that ever existed or all that would be worth knowing.

My own research suggests that Gordon Childe, and still earlier Karl Marx ([1852] in Marx and Engels 1962, 1:247), were in principle correct when they viewed cultural change as occurring as a result of human beings altering established ways of doing things in response to changing circumstances and individual material interests. Childe (1936:98, 1979) argued that the government of Britain in the nineteenth century had to be understood in terms not only of the economic and political power of industrial capitalism but also of the existing institutions upon which such power acted. The existence of the monarchy and the House of Lords both require historical explanations, although the changing roles played by these institutions have to be accounted for functionally. This view treats culture as if it were a game based on rules that players can gradually alter. Such an approach avoids the danger of an unacceptable ecological determinism being replaced by an equally unsatisfactory cultural determinism and allows for human agency in historical processes. It does not deny that cultural understandings may restrict the directions in which changes move or the speed with which change can occur, but it does allow competition over the control of material resouces in society (however this process may be perceived in individual cultures) to play a significant role in bringing about social change. As a result of my accepting this position, I can be labelled a Marxist. On the other hand, I regard Marxist views concerning human nature as hopelessly naive and the teleological aspects of Marxism as belonging squarely to the realm of religion rather than of science (Van Reybrouck 1995). The task that I have set myself with my comparative research is to try to understand more precisely the specific roles that cultural traditions and material self-interest play in shaping social change.

I am also aware, however, of the extent to which I have been influenced by the Canadian social science tradition, which has little in common with Marxism and the principal examplar of which was Harold Innis. This tradition has refused to separate scholarship from social and moral concerns. It also encourages trying to make ideas accessible to as wide an audience as possible. I consider that as far as possible ar-

chaeology and anthropology should be part of a more general social discourse and regard the obscurantist language used and defended by many postprocessual archaeologists (Shanks and Tilley 1989:8–9) as a retreat into social and intellectual irrelevance. I have also derived from this Canadian tradition a tendency to view theories in historical perspective and to try to modify and build upon past ideas rather than reject them in favour of apparent novelty. This is clear in my use of Childe's ideas.

Conclusion

One of the great satisfactions of my career has been to witness a renewed recognition among archaeologists of the complexity of human behaviour and the realization that such behaviour is symbolically mediated as well as shaped by material constraints. A second satisfaction has been the growing recognition that archaeology is not destined forever to play a subsidiary role in relation to social anthropology. Since the eighteenth century it has been believed that living societies, when ranged from the smallest hunter-gatherer ones to the most advanced industrial civilizations, document the full range of diversity in human behaviour. Today, as a consequence of world-system theory, it seems likely that all non-western societies were altered to some degree as a result of being drawn into the world economy prior to being studied by social anthropologists. Whether or not this is so is something that only archaeology can determine. This makes archaeology, and to a lesser degree history, the key disciplines for contextualizing the other social sciences. At the same time, however, it calls into question the adequacy of many universal correlations that processual archaeologists have sought to establish on the basis of actualistic studies of relations between material culture and human behaviour. To interpret archaeological evidence in behavioral and cultural terms and take account of diversity in human behaviour, archaeologists are reviving the direct historical approach and developing contextual methodologies for ascertaining the behavioral significance of archaeological data. All these developments vindicate my decision made long ago to become an archaeologist.

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Part Two: Institutions

Overleaf
The Victoria Memorial Museum in 1912.
Canadian Museum of Civilization photograph number 18806.

Chapter 8

The Royal Ontario Museum and Archaeology Abroad

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Abstract
From the beginning, the Royal Ontario Museum has had an active interest in archaeology outside Canada as a strong element in its foundations. Although in its early stages the ROM focused entirely on acquisition rather than museum-based excavation projects, the flowering of archaeology from the 1960s onwards has made the museum one of Canada's real powers in archaeological work abroad. At the same time, changes in academic culture and public perception have greatly altered the museum's attitudes and policies regarding the several forms of archaeological acquisition. In this respect the museum serves as an instructive model of similar institutions not just in Canada but throughout the world.

Résumé
Dès l'abord, le Musée Royal de l'Ontario a maintenu un intérêt actif a l'archéologie hors de Canada comme un élément solide de son fondement. Quoique aux premiers échelons le ROM aurait concentré entièrement sur l'acquisition plutôt que des projéts archéologiques basés dans le musée, la fleuraison de l'archéologie dès les 1960s en avant a fait du musée une présence véritable dans l'archéologie a l'étranger. En même temps, des changements dans la culture académique et dans la perception publique ont modifié fortement les attitudes et les politiques du musée pour ce qui concerne les plusieurs types d'acquisition archéologique.

A cet égard le musée sert d'une modèle instructive des institutions similaires non seulement au Canada mais aussi partout dans le monde.

Bringing Back the Past: Historical Perspectives on Canadian Archaeology, edited by P.J. Smith and D. Mitchell. Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, Archaeological Survey of Canada, Mercury Series No. 158, 1998:95–101

Virtually every North American museum with a respectable amount of history behind it possesses a veritable Pandora's Box of less-than-respectable histories for specific archaeological (as well as other) objects, and probably also for a variety of expeditions mounted years ago. The Royal Ontario Museum's tale is no exception to this rule, and it underscores the changes that have taken place in museum archaeology during the past thirty to thirty-five years. At the same time, however, some elements of the story make abundantly clear the distance that can occasionally still separate the ideal from the real in museum archaeological acquisition.

The Beginnings

The ROM's early involvement in archaeology abroad was filled with many more details than this short study can present. The full story of this era is contained in the lone history of the institution written thus far (Dickson 1986), but in broad outline the museum, like a great many of its counterparts around the world, had its birth in individual collecting passion. In the first decade of this century Edmund (later Sir Edmund) Walker, general manager of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, and Charles Trick Currelly, both of whom were collectors and possessed with the idea of a museum in Toronto, became the founding forces of the ROM.

It was Currelly who initiated field archaeology for the museum by his 1902–5 work in Egypt

with William Flinders Petrie at Abydos, Ehnasya and Sinai, and with Naville and Hall in 1906–7 at Deir el-Bahri, from which a portion of the finds eventually made their way to the museum. Otherwise, until his retirement in 1946 he was basically a most successful purchaser for the museum. The lone exception was his tour of the American Southwest in 1912, which resulted in a series of archaeological projects in that year and in 1914, 1916, 1917, 1920, and 1921, in collaboration with Edgar Lee Hewett of the School of American Research in Santa Fe. In 1923, Dr Cornelia Harcum, Keeper of the ROM's Greek and Roman collections, carried out ceramic studies as part of Hewett's excavations southeast of Albuquerque. The relationship with Hewett also led to the museum's acquisition of a large and richly varied New Mexico private collection of pottery from the site of Casas Grandes in Chihuahua, northern Mexico. The Chinese collection can, in an admittedly very loose sense, be considered the product of fieldwork, for it came from the earth through what could charitably be called salvage archaeology. The collection was acquired mostly through the efforts of three men: George Crofts, Bishop William White and missionary-scholar James Menzies. Of these men, only White could be considered an archaeologist of sorts; Crofts was a merchant with a large and prosperous fur business and Menzies was a literary man. White recognized the importance of archaeological sites and materials that were being destroyed early in this century as a result of political upheaval in China, and undertook to save what he could through excavations. Although his work was not up to the standards of the day, much less those of more recent times, his publication of much of what he acquired might be seen to atone for what today would be called pillage.

In 1935 Winifred Needler received responsibility for the museum's Near Eastern collections — Egyptian, Palestinian, Mesopotamian and Islamic. She worked briefly at Abydos, and arranged the display of all the institution's holdings. In the same era the museum's position as part of the University of Toronto allowed it to profit from cross-appointments to its staff. Homer Thompson joined the university in 1933 as associate professor of archaeology and became keeper of the ROM's Greek and Roman collection. His work on the ancient Athenian Agora (market-place) finally took him to the Princeton Institute for Advanced Study in 1946. His wife, Dorothy, who also worked on the Agora, acted as Director of the Museum of Archaeology for one year after Currelly's retirement. Thompson was succeeded in the Museum by Walter Graham, whose work at Olynthus on Greek architecture was followed by similar studies in Athens. His research in Crete led to a volume on Minoan palaces that is still a standard work.

The Early Work in Context

The ethical and legal restrictions that surrounded the ROM's archaeological activities abroad from the beginning of the century through the 1930s, and in some places through even later years, were far fewer than those from which we benefit today. There are, nevertheless, events even in the museum's early history that would scarcely have borne close scrutiny even at the time of their occurrence. It is not, however, the legalities of early fieldwork abroad that are the subject of concern, but rather the conceptual framework within which the acquisitions took place.

The focus of early archaeological work of the kinds in which the ROM became involved was essentially art-historical, which meant that objects were acquired largely on the basis of connoisseurship, as indeed is still true in some institutions.

The emphasis on the object rather than its context was still fairly common then in archaeological work both here and abroad, and a "representative sample" of an expedition's findings was frequently taken to be an assemblage of visually attractive specimens for which some documentation might or might not be provided, as circumstances dictated. Once the objects reached the museum there was rarely any institutional follow-up in the form of analysis, beyond what little might be required for label pro-

duction. In the vast majority of cases, the total record was no more than what accompanied the specimens when they arrived from the field or from a shop, and the differences in quality and quantity of information from the two sources was sometimes very slight indeed. We cannot, however, judge the museum of those long-departed years in our terms, which have changed as regards both professional viewpoint and law. For its time and place, the ROM was characteristic of museums in general, which were engaged in types of acquisition on various archaeological fronts that in many cases have left us with a rather difficult legacy.

The Second Stage

Currelly's successor as director of the ROM was Gerard Brett, from the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. His tenure was a troublesome time for the Museum; there was no money for work abroad, and even in Canada little could be accomplished despite the efforts of T.F. McIlwraith and Ken Kidd. Brett's great contribution was his role in the Massey Commission which, for the first time, brought the federal government into support for the cultural life of Canada, including museums and art galleries. The Canada Council was established in 1957, but in spite of the existence of a federal funding source the ROM was unable to accomplish much in archaeology either at home or abroad for the remainder of Brett's term.

The Opening of the Modern Era

The opportunity to break out of the Museum's frustration regarding field work came in 1955 with the appointment of A.D. Tushingham, who was associated with the British School of Archaeology project directed by Kathleen Kenyon at Jericho. Tushingham had represented the American School of Oriental Research in its collaboration with the British School in 1952 and 1953, and all the artifacts assigned to the American School for those years had come to Toronto. The excavations had produced fascinating information about the old city and about the early stages of human movement from hunter/gatherer society to settled urban living, and could hardly have failed to stimulate interest among the ROM's friends and supporters. The *Globe and Mail* agreed to provide funding, and also sent science reporter David Spurgeon to participate and report regularly in the newspaper's pages.

In this same period the museum began to produce a monthly newsletter addressed to the institution's friends, out of which came in 1964 the *Royal Ontario Museum Archaeological Newsletter*. The newsletter still appears, despite some interruptions, and keeps everyone informed of what the Museum is doing archaeologically. Such publicity re-awakened interest in archaeology, but work abroad had then to wait for six years as the museum made small grants but no staff commitment to projects at Nimrud and Petra, which brought ivories and Nabataean material to the collections.

Finally, after a 1957 reconnaissance by Ken Kidd in Belize (then British Honduras), the museum was able with the aid of the Harvie Foundation and the *Globe and Mail* to start work on Maya sites there in 1961 under the direction of William R. Bullard. The ROM's original plans were frustrated by transportation difficulties and a hurricane, but Bullard dug at Baking Pot in 1961 and at San Estevan in the spring of 1962. The project ended with the publication of reports on the two sites.

Just then the museum received an invitation to join the British and French Schools in Jerusalem to excavate Jerusalem itself, starting in 1961. Although other commitments made full involvement impossible, the museum was able, with the aid of funds and staff from the University of Toronto's Trinity, Victoria, St Michael's, and Knox colleges, plus Trent, Carleton, Waterloo Lutheran (now Wilfrid Laurier) and McGill universities as well as individual friends of the museum, to collaborate for the next six years, 1962 through 1967. In 1963 and 1964, the museum also provided financial support to projects that included excavations at Çatal Hüyük in Turkey, and Pasargadae and Hasanlu in Iran.

The Flowering of ROM Archaeology Abroad

The Near East

The museum's direct staff involvement in Near Eastern fieldwork began in 1965 with T. Cuyler Young's exploratory season at Godin Tepe, Iran, where excavations continued through 1973, with a related project at the Chalcolithic site of Seh Gabi directed by Louis Levine. In the later years of the Iran endeavours Edward Keall worked at Qaleh-i Yazdigird, a mountain fortress that contains a palace of the Parthian/Sassanian period. Work in Iran ceased in 1977 with the Iranian revolution, and Young moved first to Iraq and later to Turkey, where he has just completed work at Gordion in conjunction with a University of Pennsylvania expedition.

Closure of the work in Iran prompted Keall to shift his attention to the Yemen, where he continues fieldwork to this day. A great deal of the work in the Near East, which in several cases has resulted in the museum's acquisition of a portion of the objects, has been made possible by grants from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC), augmented by funds from a variety of private and institutional sources as well as ROM research monies.

Egypt and Sudan

Building on Winifred Needler's early focus on Egypt, the museum has carried on long-term investigations at a number of sites in northern Africa from the mid 1960s onward, beginning with investigations at Lahun by Nicholas Millet and expanding to include a very large interdisciplinary study of Dakhleh Oasis by a multi-institution team headed by the ROM's Anthony Mills. Dr Mills's departure from the ROM in 1982 brought Kryszstof Grzymski to the institution's staff, with a resultant expansion of fieldwork to include investigation of Hambukol in Sudan, where Grzymski remains actively engaged at present. As in the Near East, the financial base for the work has been a mixture of federal, ROM, and private funds.

Europe

Other ROM projects in the Old World have included Francis Pryor's work on Bronze and Iron Age sites in the Peterborough district of England, begun in 1970 and continuing to the present as a non-ROM endeavour with Pryor's shift from the ROM to a base in England. In more recent times research associate Timothy Kaiser has undertaken work in several island sites in Croatia, a project that is expected to continue for a number of years to come, largely funded by SSHRC and ROM research money. Although neither of the projects has resulted in ROM acquisition, the Croatia project has produced a temporary exhibition.

The Maya Area

Just before the Iranian and Egyptian work commenced, the ROM re-entered the field of Maya studies in Belize in 1964 with excavations at the city of Altun Ha that continued through 1970 under the author's direction. Following Altun Ha came work on a number of small sites in the early 1970s, and in 1974 the museum began a major excavation project at Lamanai that spanned 13 seasons. From 1986 onward the museum's principal focus has been on small sites on one of the islands that dot Belize's coral reef; work continues there at the present time. ROM's projects thus far have resulted in significant acquisition, with the result that the museum holds a major and very broadly representative Maya archaeological collection. The late 1980s also saw ROM involvement in the National Geographic Society-supported excavation of the late prehistoric and Spanish-contact portions of the site of Tipu in Belize, directed by museum research associate Elizabeth Graham. Prior to this time the ROM's Maya interest had spread to the Mexican state of Quintana Roo, where ROM research associate Peter Harrison of Trent University undertook survey and test excavation in the mid 1970s on the museum's behalf. In their first years the Altun Ha excavations enjoyed the support of the Harvie Foundation, the Globe and Mail, and the Wenner-Gren Foundation; from 1968 onward the Belize research has received major support from The Canada Council (subsequently the SSHRC) as well as York University and ROM research funds.

South America and the Caribbean

The museum's lone entry into the field of South American archaeology consisted of a short-lived survey and excavation project in the mid 1970s

at Pampa Grande and related sites in Peru, directed by staff member Kent Day. John Topic of Trent University, a ROM research associate, has carried on fieldwork in Peru with some museum support, but no further museum-based South American projects have yet emerged. Like all excavation in Peru, the ROM's project resulted neither in acquisition nor in loan of material.

In the Caribbean, the ROM's first research involved a career switch for Ontario archaeologist Walter Kenyon, who recovered a small but significant collection of sherds from the Belham Valley site on Montserrat in 1964. The museum's next foray into the West Indies occurred in 1968, when research associate Daniel Nelson undertook underwater exploration of historic shipwrecks in the British Virgin Islands. It was to be more than a quarter-century before the museum re-entered Caribbean archaeology with investigation of the site of Los Buchillones in which I am engaged with Cuban archaeologists; the first excavations took place early in 1997. Envisioned as a long-term undertaking, the Cuban work, which is funded from ROM Foundation and private sources, has at last established a significant ROM presence in the investigation of Taino prehistory, from which both acquisition and loan exhibitions are very likely to result.

Lessons of the Golden Age

The burgeoning of the ROM's archaeological endeavours abroad in the 1960s makes it appear that the decade marked the beginning of a golden age for ROM research. In fact, however, most of the projects mentioned sputtered into being, and spent their early years in an atmosphere of near-constant uncertainty. The sputtering early in the 1960s had largely to do with the ever-present financial problems of archaeological work, for the compelling reason that the providers of federal research funding had yet to see work beyond Canada's borders as supportable with Canadian money. In this respect things had retrogressed, for Currelly certainly never scrupled when it came to the expenditure of home-grown funds abroad. It was the broadening of The Canada Council's mandate to include work outside the country that truly marked the start of what all would surely see as the real flowering of ROM archaeological research abroad. Although the early years of the ROM's archaeological involvement abroad cannot fairly by judged by modern standards, it is clear that the last three decades of the ROM's fieldwork and archaeological acquisition in other forms can be measured against the moral, ethical, and legal yardsticks of our times. Such measurement can obviously take place in universities as well, but when applied to the ROM it shows that a museum, a type of institution often cited (and often with good reason) as one of several villains in the drama of world-wide cultural heritage destruction and neo-colonial exploitation, can mend its ways but not necessarily overcome all of its problems.

A Change in Philosophy

New staff members brought to the ROM from the 1950s onward a stance and a body of experience regarding archaeological work abroad that changed the early aspect of the museum's endeavours in several significant ways. Gone was the drive to acquire objects for art-historical appreciation without concern for context or method of recovery; in its place was a series of research projects that might but did not always result in acquisition of artifacts, which if they came to the museum would of course arrive as legally exported from their country of origin, and with the fullest possible culture-historical documentation. Gone in turn was the approach to gallery development that so often placed an object's aesthetic quality above its information content. With meaningful assemblages of objects recovered in controlled excavation the curator could now contemplate production of a gallery that taught extensively, and at a variety of levels, while it remained visually stimulating and with the best of luck entertaining as well. Gone, too, in most instances was the easy and familiar relationship between curators and those who deal in the clandestinely excavated and illegally exported cultural heritage of countries round the world. With this disappearance came increasing reluctance, on the part of some at least, to accept privately collected material, partly be-

cause its random and undocumented qualities did not mesh with research programmes, but largely because its shady heritage of clandestine excavation and illegal export placed it outside the pale of what was beginning to be seen as the only ethical stance acceptable in the museum world.

Museums versus Universities as Cultural Institutions

It would be easy to assume from what I have said that the changes of the 1960s transformed the ROM into a solid fortress of ethical respectability, inside whose walls consensus could be found on every occasion when the dastardly deeds of looters, dealers, and collectors intruded on the institution's consciousness. The truth is, unfortunately, that such a paradise has yet to appear at the ROM or anywhere else. That we are far ahead of where the museum stood thirty years ago in matters of morals, ethics, and even law is beyond question, and this is as true in the sphere of gallery development as it is in field research. Yet, as is so often the case in museum display, old problems refuse to be swept away, and issues long since thought laid to rest rise again and again to confront us. The reasons for this lie, I believe, in the fundamental nature of museums, particularly in those characteristics that contrast most sharply with the university setting in which the preponderant portion of archaeological research is carried out.

Say what one will about change in the museum world, it remains true of all museums that their primary functions are the acquisition, care, study, and display of objects and the education of a variety of publics by means of those objects. On these functions rests a solid commitment to the concept of culture, and to the conveying of that concept to the world at large through object display and other means. It is the focus on material evidence of past events that constitutes one of the obvious main differences between museums and universities. It has been suggested that a museum such as the ROM, with its extremely broad range of discipline specializations and its large number of active research scholars, can be understood as a kind of university with the annoying encumbrance of large collections. The fact is, of course, that both the daily activities and the long-term goals of the two types of institutions differ very sharply. It is in this difference that one pervasive and continual problem arises to encompass research programmes and other scholarly activities, and often to extend to gallery design as well.

In the university world there are two unarguable institutional purposes: teaching and research, with research sometimes given first place. No one questions the ongoing commitment to the training of students, and no one questions the fundamental approaches taken to achieve that goal. Although a multitude of barriers may be placed in the way of research, it is also true that no one questions the basic role of university scholars in the endeavour. In the museum setting, three purposes — collection maintenance and augmentation, research, and public education — are recognized, and in many circumstances, including those at the ROM, research may occupy a position at least as prominent as it does in university thinking. A tremendous advantage is conferred on museums by the need to interpret the past to an audience much broader than that of a university, a need that involves museums very heavily in knowledge production directly for the public (Graham 1996). As regards the means of achieving its goals, and maintaining a balance of resources among the three, there is, however, ongoing multi-party convoluted disagreement on the museum front. Hence despite its role as conservator of the physical record of human achievement in all times and places, and therefore as a bastion of continuity, the museum is inherently far less stable an institution than the university, because both the nature of its product and the processes used in production remain constantly open to question. As a result, there is no guarantee that archaeological fieldwork will not shift places in a museum's list of priorities.

Ethical Policy and Practice

In spite of the shifting world within which the ROM's archaeological projects operate, the museum has managed over the last quarter-century

to establish clear policies on matters ethical. With antecedents regarding the Maya area that go back to 1969, we have had in place since 1974 a Board-approved museum policy that forbids acquisition of any archaeological material that has not been recovered in a scientifically acceptable manner and has not been legally exported from its country of origin. This internal policy was further strengthened in 1979 to reflect the Canadian Cultural Properties Act of 1977, which ratified the 1970 UNESCO convention on cultural property. Both purchase acquisition and receipt by donation of material from Latin America became things of the past a quarter century ago. With the cessation of such activities the museum can no longer be counted among the market forces, both direct and indirect, that fuel site destruction in Latin America. To a fair extent the same is true elsewhere in the archaeological world covered by the ROM's departments, although national policies and practices in some areas leave both ethical and legal issues very considerably clouded.

As the ROM extracted itself from the antiquities market, it became an institution in which advocacy against looting emerged as a significant endeavour despite the fact that the preponderant portion of the old collections derived from just such clandestine activity. Here the focus on display of objects has proved extremely advantageous on occasion, because in exhibits the effects of looting can be brought home to the viewing public in very direct and graphic ways. In this sphere, perhaps even more than in the teaching gallery that now presents a culture through its objects rather than a set of objects devoid of cultural meaning, the dynamic interaction between the archaeologist and the public takes on its fullest meaning. But behind the scenes lurk other kinds of dynamic interaction that are not always favourable auguries for a future free of worry. If today one were to pose the question, "Is archaeology in museums different from archaeology at universities?," the answer would, I think, be quite clear: "Not in the field, not in the analysis (allowing for better back-up in museums), and not in the academic reporting, but certainly in its ultimate presentation." The answer in 1905 or even 1945 would very probably have been a simple "Yes," and this has much to do with the widespread image of museums as voracious and largely unprincipled consumers of the world's cultural heritage. That is the difficult legacy to which I referred earlier, and there is no better illustration of the difficulty than a response I received in 1969 when I sent the ROM's director a memorandum recommending that we become signatory to an International Congress of Americanists policy statement on cessation of acquisition of Latin American archaeological material. The Director wrote back, "I agree, but I wonder where museums would be today if we had always had such a policy." As I measure the ROM's old archaeological acquisition philosophy, together with the far more unsettling histories of many kindred institutions, against archaeology abroad as we practice it today, I have more data now than I did then to support my answer, which was, of course, "In far better odour than we are."

Acknowledgement

The account of ROM fieldwork to 1970 owes much to the paper "Archaeology Abroad: Some Memories," presented by A. D. Tushingham at the Canadian Archaeological Association 1994 annual meeting.

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Chapter 9

Archaeology, Ethnology and Canada's Public Purse 1910–1921

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Abstract
The Geological Survey of Canada played a major role in the professionalization of Canadian anthropology, providing the emerging field with an institutional base following establishment of its Anthropological Division in 1910. The relationship of "parent" and "child" was an uneasy one, however, the scientific objectives of the country's first generation of professional archaeologists and ethnologists were often at odds with the political priorities of Survey bureaucrats and higher-ups elsewhere in the Federal government. This paper discusses the background to and some leading dimensions of this arrangement during the Anthropological Division's initial decade of operation. It also considers some of its implications for the development and implementation of a national research programme focusing on Aboriginal peoples and cultures.

Résumé
L'Étude géologique du Canada a joué un rôle primordial dans la professionnalisation de l'anthropologie au Canada en offrant à cette nouvelle discipline une base institutionnelle, suite à la création de sa Division anthropologique en 1910. Toutefois, les rapports entre «parent» et «enfant» n'ont pas toujours été faciles, les objectifs scientifiques de la première génération d'archéologues et d'ethnologues professionnels canadiens allant souvent à l'encontre des priorités politiques des bureaucrates chargés de l'étude et de quelques autres hauts fonctionnaires. Dans cette communication, nous examinerons les circonstances qui ont mené à la conclusion de cet arrangement et ce qu'il en a été de la Division anthropologique au cours des dix premières années. Nous examinerons également quelques-unes des implications de cet arrangement relativement à la création et à la mise en oeuvre d'un programme de recherche national portant sur les peuples et les cultures aborigènes.

Bringing Back the Past: Historical Perspectives on Canadian Archaeology, edited by P.J. Smith and D. Mitchell.
Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, Archaeological Survey of Canada, Mercury Series No. 158, 1998:103–114

In 1888, at the age of 46, David Boyle became Canada's first professional archaeologist, receiving a salary of $400 per year from the Ontario government to do double duty as full-time curator and field worker for Toronto's Canadian Institute Museum (Killan 1983). The timing of this milestone corresponds with two closely-linked trends shaping up here and elsewhere late in the last century: one, the gradual differentiation of the natural and physical sciences into the separate specializations we know today; the other, growing acceptance of scientific work as an occupation, not, as formerly had been the case, an avocation organised under the auspices of learned societies. Of these changes, both essential to the growth of archaeology and other disciplines as autonomous professions, only the former stemmed from developments internal to the individual fields themselves. Quite unlike the business of delineating disciplinary boundaries by identifying distinctive methods and goals of inquiry, and of establishing credentials for professional standing, the latter required something altogether different: the successful articulation of scientific and intellectual interests with the interests of society at large. Put simply, Boyle and his colleagues in Canada's fledgling anthropological community, like their counterparts abroad, needed to create a market for their expertise outside their own limited circle, a market that would warrant subsidizing an institutional base for supporting anthropological activities, and employing qualified specialists to undertake them on a permanent basis.

The university, undergoing an equally profound transformation in these years, eventually came to monopolize that important institutional role, promoting independent research and scholarship as much for the sake of knowledge itself as for its use in training successive generations of professional scientists. Preliminary to establishing their nascent field as an academic discipline, however, anthropologists commonly looked to the state as the most likely consumer of what they had to offer. In doing so, they were following a course initially blazed by geologists — geology seemingly the first science in North America, Great Britain, and elsewhere to gain professional status, doing so through the agency of publicly-funded national geological surveys. As geologists had done, moreover, anthropologists were similarly inclined to put their case for public support in strictly utilitarian terms; the systematic investigation of human racial and cultural variation, they argued, held vast potential to produce practical intelligence bearing directly on the state's management of its human resources, much as geological knowledge had already begun to do for management of natural wealth (Kuklick 1991). The strategy had its successes, the earliest, and most notable being the Bureau of American Ethnology, founded in 1879 as an offshoot of J.W. Powell's pioneering reconnaissance of the U.S. western frontier (Judd 1968). When the Anthropological Division of the Geological Survey of Canada was organised thirty years later, those who politicked on its behalf held up the Bureau as a model worthy of emulation because of its blending of scientific and public priorities (Avrith 1986; Tylor 1884).

Such arrangements proved to be mixed blessings, the emerging anthropological professions gaining a toe hold in the occupational structure, but achieving this at the cost of subordinating their scientific and intellectual interests to the mandated objectives and bureaucratic procedures of state-run institutions. This context fostered a distinctive, historically intermediate form of professionalism, one in which scientist-civil servants took up work largely contingent on the ever-shifting winds of political life. The move into academia beginning in the 1890s, however, bequeathed scholars a substantial measure of autonomy to pursue independent lines of inquiry and thought, including *pure* research, and also contributed to standardization of occupational qualifications in the form of specialised (usually graduate-level) instruction (Darnell 1971). As a result, a new breed of academically-trained anthropologists came to embrace a rather different conception of their science, and of their profession, a conception that had already begun to eclipse its predecessor in the United States before World War I, and was well advanced toward that goal a decade later in England.

In Canada, anthropology was slow to catch on in the universities, the first department established only in 1936, and graduate studies not begun until the Fifties. As a result, professional archaeologists and ethnologists remained a rare breed here for some time. Of their small number, the majority worked for the Geological Survey's Anthropological Division, a situation that persisted from the Division's founding in 1910 until after World War II. Most were recruited from outside the country, and were trained abroad, too: a few in England in undergraduate courses, the rest in the United States where several doctoral programmes were already functioning. This virtually guaranteed a clash between the self-definition of their science and profession which these people brought to Ottawa, and existing attitudes toward all things anthropological among politicians and ranking bureaucrats. Rooted in the priorities of state policy and borne out in the Survey's institutional mandate, the prevailing, *official* view of anthropology serving the public interest arguably did more to hinder than foster the field in Canada to mid century. The following pages consider some dimensions of this problem, examining their effect on implementation of a nationwide research programme focusing on Aboriginal peoples during the Anthropological Division's first decade.

The Beginnings of Government Anthropology

Cambridge's A.C. Haddon (1912:597) was full of congratulations for the Dominion government's decision to organise and fund an agency devoted exclusively to anthropological work, heralding it as a boon to the science in Canada

and as a laudatory example to be "followed speedily elsewhere." Ironically, the decision itself was long in coming, a quarter-century passing between the time a special committee of the British Association for the Advancement of Science began lobbying for a state-supported research office in 1884, and inauguration of the Anthropological Division in 1910. Yet in view of all that preceded it, there is ample reason to marvel that the step was ever taken at all. Several factors contributed to this, though two warrant particular mention here.

First, sitting MPs at the time were ill-disposed to open the public coffers for purposes other than those directly beneficial to industrial and commercial development. As one Geological Survey official put the case in an 1886 letter to Franz Boas, "Everything done by members of our Govt (or equally if done by their Departments) is tinged with our home politics. Politicians in Canada don't care for science enough to do anything purely for its own sake" (cited in Avrith 1986:136). As a result, what little first-hand research was actually conducted under the government's aegis, namely George M. Dawson's ethnological observations in British Columbia, was done strictly as a sideline to his paid duties as a field geologist there during the late seventies and eighties (Cole 1973). Beginning in 1890, Parliament did vote the barest of direct subsidies for anthropological purposes, giving the Survey $500 to purchase Indian artifacts for its natural history museum. The practice stopped after five years, however, presumably for reasons of fiscal restraint (Avrith 1986). In the meantime, foreign institutions organised and financed the lion's share of archaeological and ethnological research and collecting undertaken on Canadian soil before 1910. As it happened, around the very time Ottawa was pulling the plug on its modest yearly allowance, financier-philanthropist Morris K. Jesup was lavishing upwards of half a million dollars on New York's American Museum of Natural History. The money was used to build an anthropological wing, and to mount a two-year expedition into the Pacific Northwest, including British Columbia, for the express purpose of stocking display cases in the new exhibition hall (Cole 1985; Freed *et al.* 1988). And in Washington, Congress gave the Bureau of American Ethnology sufficient money — about $50,000 per year in the early nineties — to support seven archaeologists and six ethnologists in original field investigations (Haddon 1897).

The second factor pertains to the tenor of Victorian Canada's relations with Aboriginal peoples. Many of the day's leading anthropologists were inclined to promote ethnological knowledge as practical knowledge, arguing for its particular relevance to the successful conduct of colonial (*i.e.* Native) affairs. As we have already seen, this was the hook by which they hoped to secure the institutional supports and financial wherewithal necessary to advance their still-fledgling science. Yet even in the wake of the Northwest Rebellion Ottawa steadfastly refused to bite, a succession of governments showing "no disposition to make the study of the native populations a branch of the public service" (Hale 1888:174). One very good reason for this is that by the mid 1880s, the direction of Federal Indian policy was already firmly set — indeed, was virtually carved in stone — as was the legal and bureaucratic apparatus to implement that policy. The result was an administrative system effectively closed to outside counsel and single-mindedly dedicated to one, overriding goal: complete assimilation of Aboriginal peoples (Dyck 1991; Titley 1986). Little wonder, then, that at a time when politicians deemed everything about Natives but their ancient lands to be irrelevant to national interests (Ponting and Gibbins 1980), they should be similarly inclined to consider anthropology, and anthropological ideas, equally irrelevant. This same view persisted even after the Anthropological Division's founding. Edward Sapir, the Division's first chief, clearly erred in thinking that public financing of fieldwork stemmed from the state's need of "sound scientific advice" on Aboriginal policy and administration (Darnell 1990:74). On the contrary, the government went to some lengths to prevent anthropologists, including those from outside the country, from investigating anything to do with such matters, effectively insuring that they remained the exclusive preserve of Indian Affairs officials until the post World War II era (Richling 1995).

Political considerations of quite a different stripe eventually brought anthropologists into the government's employ. Early in the century, Sir Wilfred Laurier's ruling Liberals opted to capitalize on resurgent nationalism in order to expand economic interests and to show the flag in regions where territorial claims were in dispute. Becoming a branch of the Department of Mines when that ministry began operations in 1907, the Geological Survey played an important part in this work, mustering the scientific expertise needed to explore and chart the whole of the Dominion's geography and resources. It also assumed responsibility for preserving and disseminating "complete and exact knowledge" of the country's natural history, including the ethnology and archaeology of its indigenous peoples (Zaslow 1975:241). The Survey's museum, renamed the Victoria Memorial Museum when it officially moved into newly-built quarters on Ottawa's Metcalfe Street in 1912, was made the repository of that knowledge and, more important, served as the premier showplace of Canada's advancement. Fifteen years later, the country's leading scientific institution finally became in name what it had long been in fact: the National Museum of Canada (Collins 1928).

A century ago, as now, displays of Indian and Inuit artifacts held great appeal to the museum-going public. Their exotic allure aside, in the 1900s such items were also taken as instructive of the inevitability of progress, mere vestiges of *primitive* ways of life deliberately vanishing under the *civilizing* hand of state tutelage (*cf.* Ames 1992). R.W. Brock, the Geological Survey's newly-appointed director, played up this angle in seeking to raise anthropology's profile, urging his superiors to hire a professional anthropologist to oversee timely collection of representative ethnographica from peoples whose traditional cultures were presumed on the verge of disappearing. Both the urgency of this work and the enduring popularity and educational value of such exhibits, he argued, were justification enough for the expense this type of institutional promotion entailed (GSC 1909, 1910, 1911).

The Anthropological Division was thus born, its mandate best described as a nationwide programme of urgent, salvage ethnology (Sapir 1911). As Sapir and those who joined him at the Museum were to discover over the next half-decade, however, that justification was far from inviolate, the government's commitment to anthropology wholly conditional on the vagaries of in-house politics, the quirks of individual bureaucrats, and, in the last analysis, on the acid test of public accountability. In consequence, at the very time university-trained and professionally-minded archaeologists and ethnologists were striving to assert an increasing measure of autonomy over their developing disciplines, virtually the entire field in Canada fell under the control of Geological Survey and Mines Department officials. With precious few exceptions, these were men, nearly all geologists, who had little if any understanding of (or sympathy with) the aims and methods of the day's anthropology. Wielding the ultimate leverage of budgetary oversight, it was they who finally determined which research to fund, which staff to hire, and the extent to which original investigations would be made secondary to the inevitable "clamor for . . . popularization" (NMC: F. Boas to E. Sapir, Jan. 2, 1914). Nor were they above interfering with scientific work and questioning disciplinary standards, on occasion going so far as to order the "doctoring" of field reports when they deemed contents to be objectionable or otherwise suspect (*e.g.*, NMC: E. Sapir to R.G. McConnell, 18 November 1916; Richling 1990).

That said, the future must have seemed anything but tenuous in the Division's early days, steady increases in personnel and funds both signals that the Dominion intended the agency not merely to emulate the Bureau of American Ethnology, but to rival it. Within three years of Sapir's arrival the number of permanent positions had grown to six, Marius Barbeau, Frederick Waugh, and Sapir staffing an ethnology and linguistics section, Harlan Smith and William Wintemberg taking charge of archaeology, and Francis Knowles covering physical anthropology. A total of eleven other men held temporary contracts with the Survey between 1911 and 1914, never fewer than six per year, and a twelfth, ethnologist James Teit, had a permanent, part-time post on Outside service in British Columbia. Of the contract researchers,

nine were academically-trained anthropologists, most, like Sapir, having studied under Boas at Columbia; among regular staff, Barbeau and Knowles were both Oxonians. The Division also benefitted from a steadily-growing budget, expenditures on field investigations (which included stipends for contract researchers, normally $100 per month) rising from nearly $4000 in 1911 to over $10,000 two years later. Consistently well below Sapir's annual estimates (NMC 1910-25), these amounts were still sufficient to support no fewer than thirty separate field projects in Aboriginal communities and archaeological sites before the war, to pay for acquisition of several thousand artifacts and documentary records for research and public display, and to publish an anthropological series under the Geological Survey imprint. All things considered, Sapir and his colleagues had good reason for optimism. Not only were the institutional supports in place to carry out comprehensive archaeological and ethnological surveys (Sapir 1912), but to insure that Canadian anthropology reached full professional standing as well. Then things began to sour.

The Legacy of War

Mobilization for war brought an end to business as usual, Ottawa imposing progressively tighter fiscal restraints on non-essential activities as the prospects for a quick resolution to the bloody conflict in Europe grew dimmer. Virtually every aspect of the Division's work was curtailed, the government under Robert Borden contemplating no special war-related duties for its personnel comparable to those taken up by anthropologists in Great Britain and the United States (Kuklick 1991; Stocking 1976; *cf.* Smith 1917). Reductions in permanent staff were happily avoided, the complement remaining steady at six. Between 1914 and 1918, however, the number of contract researchers fell from six to two and finally to one, annual field parties from eleven to as few as three, and expenditures on research from just over $8000 to a mere $650. Acquisition of artifacts was similarly affected, scarcely 100 being procured in 1916, down by more than a thousand from the preceding year (GSC 1916, 1917). Publication suffered, too, few monographs seeing the light of day, and the practice of issuing annual reports suspended altogether between 1917 and 1919. Finally, as if conditions were not bad enough, a swarm of MPs and Senators descended on the Victoria Memorial Museum when a disastrous fire (killing seven people) gutted the Centre Block of the Parliament Buildings in February, 1916. They remained for four years, an unwelcome occupation that forced the dispersal of most staff members and facilities to temporary quarters elsewhere in the city, required complete closure of all exhibit halls, and precipitated a protracted bout of sagging morale among many government scientists (Woods 1980; Zaslow 1975).

The national emergency led to important change in Geological Survey operations as well. Seemingly overnight, what had once been a multi-disciplinary programme aimed at documenting the whole of Canada's natural history, was eclipsed by a more pressing mandate: exploring for metals and other crucial resources, and conducting applied research pertaining to the production of raw materials for military use. As a result, while anthropology, biology, and palaeontology were lapsing into a state of near-dormancy, geology flourished, annual appropriations for personnel and investigations rising more than twenty percent in the period. Ironically, while qualified geologists were in great demand, supply turned out to be grossly inadequate, enlistments siphoning off some men, and better-paying jobs in private industry claiming many more. Among its ramifications, this brain-drain repeatedly left a hefty portion of the Survey's war-time budget unspent while anthropology struggled to maintain a mere semblance of its original agenda in the face of drastic cut-backs (Darnell 1990; Zaslow 1975).

While expectable in the circumstances, the fundamental reordering of priorities which the Great War occasioned proved anything but temporary, the late Teens and early Twenties finding the Geological Survey gearing up to assume a leading role in Canada's post-war economic and industrial development. Needless to say, this decisive shift did not auger well for anthropology, the Survey's institutional culture now favouring only those activities which contrib-

Figure 1.
Reginald W. Brock.
National Archives of Canada photograph PA 122350.

uted directly to the country's material well-being. Even the 1920 decision to make the Museum and its constituent divisions a separate branch of the Mines Department did little to halt the trend, the purported reorganization still leaving day-to-day control firmly in the hands of ranking geologist-bureaucrats who accorded practically no importance to what they persisted in seeing as *pure* science (Zaslow 1975). With little changing over the next thirty years, moreo-

ver, the net effect was that anthropology became increasingly marginalized, the Division's capacity to carry on its work hindered by perpetual shortages of staff and money, and ultimately by the indifference of those in charge. Interestingly enough, a 1932 Carnegie Corporation-sponsored study of Canadian museums concluded that the "completely anomalous" arrangement for administering the National Museum was "largely responsible for the comparatively ineffective service rendered to the Dominion" by its scientific personnel. Federal policy was also found lacking, the report calling attention to the fact that per capita expenditures on museums in both Great Britain and the United States were nearly three times that in Canada (Miers and Markham 1932: 25, 30; *cf.* Falconer 1932–3).

Anthropology's post-war problems may well have been compounded by an event that occurred at the very outset of hostilities in Europe: Brock's unexpected departure in August, 1914 for a deanship at the University of British Columbia. A specialist in mining geology and a former university lecturer, Reginald W. Brock was probably anthropology's most effective advocate at the time, perhaps its only one outside the anthropological community, and was surely its best- connected friend. Well regarded in political circles, he became director of the Geological Survey in 1908 under the Liberals, then rose to the post of Deputy Minister of Mines under the Tories six years later. Despite a reputation for "'subordinat[ing] the academic to the economic'" (Zaslow 1975:264), Brock championed, and eventually realized the establishment of a permanent archaeological and ethnological survey staffed with university-trained professionals, arguing at the time that such a step was critical to rescuing anthropology in Canada from the "spasmodic and secondary" condition it had languished in for years (GSC 1911:7).

Unlike predecessors G.M. Dawson and A.P. Low, Brock had done no anthropological work himself. Yet he displayed a substantial understanding of what the science was about, particularly the priority accorded fieldwork over all other activities, and was sympathetic to the pressing need to document rapidly-changing Aboriginal cultures before reliable knowledge of them was "lost forever" (GSC 1910:8). His backing paid handsome dividends in relatively short order: accelerated development of a highly qualified scientific staff; steady growth in funding for research and collecting, an amount which rose from 3.5% of the total annual research budget for which he had responsibility in 1911 to 6.9% three years later (CSP 1913, 1914, 1915); publication of twenty reports and papers by 1915; and considerable leeway for Sapir to determine the particulars of the Division's scientific agenda (Fenton 1986). He also encouraged Sapir's (ultimately fruitless) efforts to find a place for anthropology in at least one of the country's universities, recognizing that the still-struggling profession's survival in Canada depended in large measure on turning out specialists at home.

Had Brock stayed, might he have breathed new life into Survey anthropology once wartime economic stringencies were lifted? Perhaps. Surely his proven support boded well for the Division's chances after he was promoted to Deputy Minister, better, at least, than what came in the person of the next deputy, R.G. McConnell, yet another geologist and a man whom Sapir reckoned not "in the slightest degree interested in anthropology." (NMC: E. Sapir to F. Boas, 19 October 1916). McConnell was wedded to a far narrower view of government science than his predecessor had been, asserting that the "energies and the funds entrusted to [the Mines Department] must necessarily be largely expended in assisting . . . in the economic development of the country" (NAC: McConnell to M.F. Gallagher, 12 May 1917). This left little room for archaeology, ethnology, and other "*purely scientific*" activities, a position the new deputy made patently clear in 1917; responding to Sapir's request that Diamond Jenness be hired, McConnell complained to an assistant that the Anthropological Division "is already costing the Department over $17,000 a year in salaries and a further amount, which I am endeavouring to make as small as possible, for field expenses" (NAC: McConnell to M.F. Gallagher, 12 May 1917). Making good on this pledge, the war's final year was the Division's bleakest in the decade under review, the $652 spent on fieldwork constituting just 0.53% of the total Geological Survey Branch expenditure

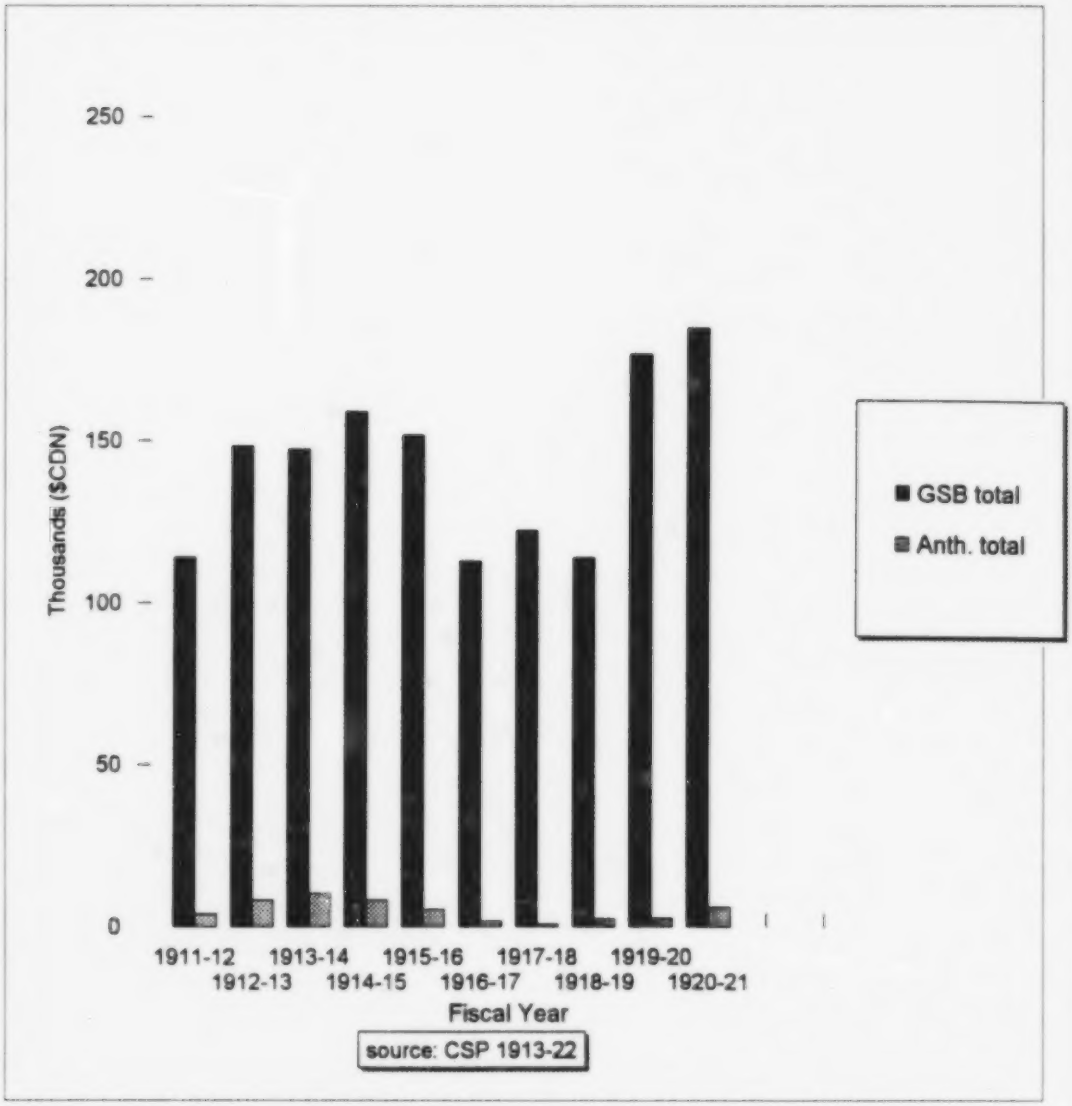

Figure 2. Research expenditures, Geological Survey Branch, 1911–21.

for research activities (CSP 1919). While spending gradually rebounded in the early Twenties, reaching a high of $6084 (a 3.29% share of the total) by fiscal year 1920–21, post-war inflation kept the scale of activities at modest levels, just five men able to take to the field, four for more than a month's duration. By comparison, the Division had supported nine men in the field for more than twice as much time in 1911–12, and at a cost of just under $4,000 (CSP 1913, 1922).

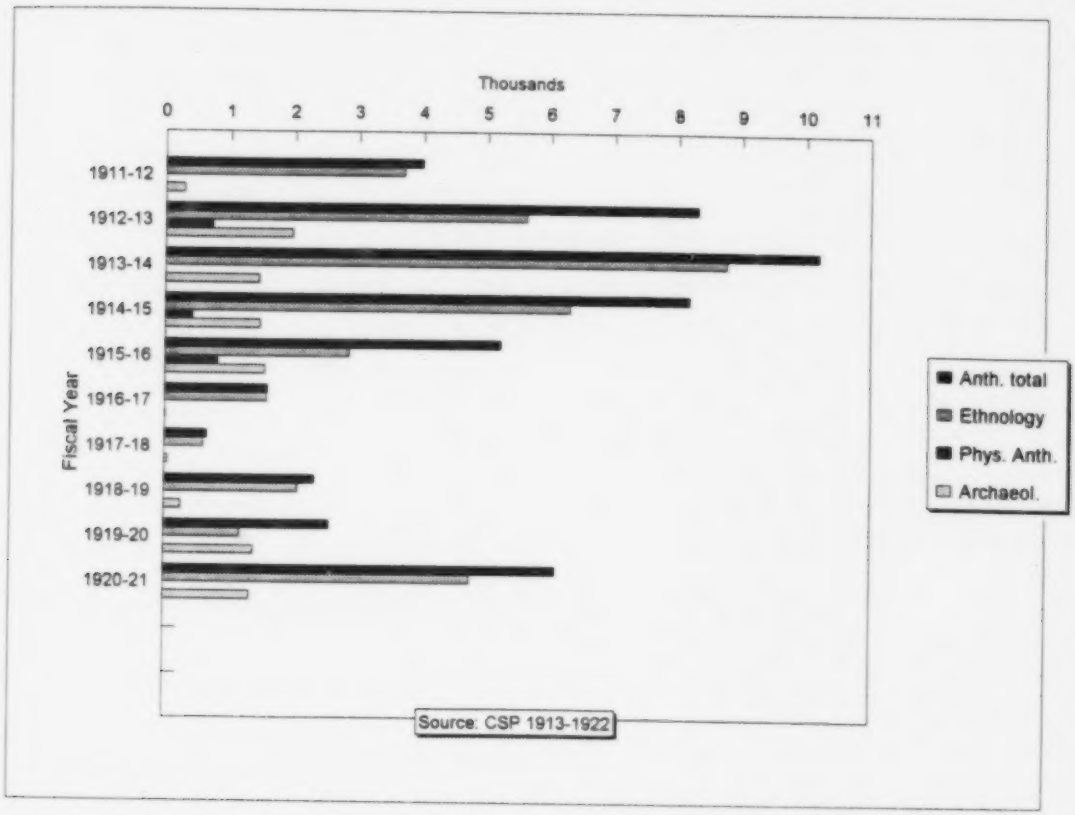

Figure 3. Expenditures by section, Anthropological Division, 1911–21.

The figures accompanying this paper, based on the annual audited statements for the Department of Mines (CSP 1913–21), chart the ups and downs of research expenditures in the Anthropological Division during its first full decade of operation. Figure 2 shows these amounts as a proportion of overall expenditures on research and investigation in the Geological Survey Branch, the section of the Mines Department with authority over the Division. Figure 3 provides a breakdown of the relative amounts spent on field investigations by the Division's three sections: archaeology, ethnology (including linguistics and folklore), and physical anthropology.

While the research programme adopted in 1910 included an archaeological survey of the Dominion (Smith 1912), far more importance, and the lion's share of resources, were actually invested in ethnological work. This not only reflected the commonly-held opinion among the day's anthropologists that opportunities to obtain ethnographic data about traditional Aboriginal cultures were fleeting, but that buried relics of the past would remain undisturbed, awaiting recovery once the urgency attending other research had passed (Jenness 1932; Rivers 1913). This helps to explain why only one of the twelve part-timers hired in the period, William Nickerson, was engaged to do archaeological work — a survey of southwestern Manitoba carried out in the years 1912-15. Otherwise, Smith and Wintemberg were on their own, reconnoitring sites and conducting excavations together, or separately, in Nova Scotia, Québec, Ontario, and British Columbia.

A Step Back

Though unwise to attribute the hard times that plagued the Anthropological Division to his departure alone, Brock's decision to leave government for academic life created a vacuum that no other administrator in the Survey or Mines hierarchy was willing to fill for the next thirty years. Combined with the narrow view of science which the Great War did so much to restore, the consequences of losing a strong ally in the upper echelons of bureaucracy proved to be considerable. Of these, none was as dramatic as the erosion of Division staff. While gaining two permanent members, Jenness in 1920 and Douglas Leechman three years later, it lost three others: Knowles, forced into an early retirement by poor health in 1921; Sapir, lured away to academia in 1925; and Waugh, disappeared and presumed dead en route home from fieldwork on Québec's North Shore, also in 1925. None of the three was replaced, Leechman becoming the last person to be hired for nearly a quarter-century. The situation for part-time researchers was no better, never more than two contracts coming up in any one year before 1930. Altogether, only four men were engaged in the period, well below the usual number sent to the field every year between 1911 and 1914. Despite Canada's relative prosperity in the Twenties, moreover, allotments for research were consistently below pre-war levels, and those coming at a time when costs for virtually everything were spiralling upward. Instead of mounting eight or ten projects in a season, as it had once been able to do, now three or four constituted a good year.

In effect, what began as an ambitious programme of archaeological and ethnological investigation launched with such enthusiasm, and apparent success, had been scaled back significantly by war's end, and would undergo even further reductions in the years ahead. This insured that a good deal of primary research in the country would again be in the hands of specialists from elsewhere, much as it had been before the turn of the century. Into the bargain, Canadian anthropology's lack of an institutional base outside of government also meant that its scientific and professional development were to remain contingent on the priorities and prejudices of politicians and senior bureaucrats for some time to come.

Acknowledgement

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Chapter 10

Toward a History of Archaeology in the National Museum of Canada: the Contributions of Harlan I. Smith and Douglas Leechman, 1911–1950

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Abstract

In 1911 Harlan I. Smith joined the Geological Survey of Canada's Victoria Memorial Museum (later the National Museum of Canada) as Head of the new Archaeology Section. His was the first full-time archaeology position in the federal civil service. Given a mandate to explore and elucidate the ancient history of Canada, Smith planned to survey the great cultural areas, build reference files, and undertake intensive study of at least one important site in each area. The plan got a good start during the first few years, but changes in government and the vicissitudes of two world wars coupled with minor and major economic depressions made the next thirty years very difficult. Nevertheless, staff brought landmark studies to fruition for all culture areas and provided leadership in public education, *in situ* preservation, disciplinary development, and demonstration of the economic and social value in archaeological knowledge. Decades of budget restrictions brought the Archaeology Section to a low point in the early 1940s. However, when the post World War II economic boom took effect, the Section, then under Douglas Leechman, began a renewal which led to the hiring of new staff, a marked expansion in funding, and an invigorated program for the 1950s.

Résumé

Harlan I. Smith entra au service du Musée de la Commission géologique du Canada (qui devint par la suite le Musée national du Canada) en 1911 et fut nommé directeur de la nouvelle Section d'archéologie. C'était le premier poste à plein temps en archéologie dans le Service civil du Canada. Conformément au mandat qu'il avait reçu d'explorer et de mettre en lumière l'histoire ancienne du Canada, Smith planifia de faire un relevé archéologique dans les grandes aires culturelles, de monter des dossiers de référence et d'entreprendre l'étude intensive d'au moins un site dans chaque aire. Le plan connut un bon départ pendant les cinq premières années, mais les trente années suivantes furent pénibles en raison des changements gouvernementaux, des vicissitudes de deux guerres mondiales et de dépressions mineure et majeur. Le personnel a néanmoins accompli des études qui ont servi de points de repère dans toutes les aires culturelles, ont constitué des têtes de point dans l'éducation publique, la préservation in situ, le développement disciplinaire et ont démontré la valeur économique et sociale des connaissances archéologiques. Les décennies de restrictions budgétaires ont forcé la Section d'archéologie à réduire ses activités à un niveau sans précédent au début des années 1940. Cependant, à la suite de l'explosion économique qui survint après la Deuxième guerre mondiale, la Section, alors sous la direction de Douglas Leechman, connut un renouveau qui se manifesta par l'engagement de personnel, un financement sensiblement accru et un programme revigoré au cours des années 1950.

Bringing Back the Past: Historical Perspectives on Canadian Archaeology, edited by P.J. Smith and D. Mitchell.
Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, Archaeological Survey of Canada, Mercury Series No. 158, 1998:115–133

In June 1911 the Geological Survey of Canada hired Harlan I. Smith as its first Museum archaeologist, part of an early twentieth century surge in Museum development which included construction of a Victoria Memorial Museum Building between 1904 and 1911 and founding of an Anthropology Division in 1910. There were several reasons for these developments and, in particular, for creation of the Archaeology Section. A long-standing interest in the anthropology of Canada's native peoples by the Geological Survey of Canada was of primary importance (Zaslow 1975). Beyond that, strong archaeological representation in a 30 year old scholarly lobby, and the 1910 choice of Edward Sapir as the first NMC Anthropology Division Chief, were also significant factors. The Anthropological Section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science led the lobby for an anthropological department within the Government of Canada. George Bryce, an educator with a keen interest in Manitoba's ancient burial mounds, was Chairman of the Anthropology Section when it presented its detailed 1909 petition to the Prime Minister of Canada, Sir Wilfred Laurier (BAAS 1909; Cole 1973; Avrith 1986). Along with the endorsement of scholars belonging to the BAAS, the request also had support from the Archaeological Institute of America (AIA 1909). Once the Government agreed and the Anthropological Division was established, Edward Sapir proved to be a very effective advocate of the four-fold Boasian approach to anthropology: linguistics, ethnology, archaeology and physical anthropology (Darnell 1976; Eggan 1986; Fenton 1986; Foster 1986). Sapir worked hard to establish and sustain work in each of these fields (*cf.* Sapir 1911, 1912).

From 1911 until the 1950s the Geological Survey of Canada/National Museum of Canada was uncontested leader of Canadian archaeology as it opened the groundwork for various regions of the country. Given this situation, it is surprising that a comprehensive history of NMC archaeology has never been written. True, parts of it can be learned by reading Museum reports, or from tributes to acclaimed Museum scholars such as Diamond Jenness (Collins and Taylor 1970; de Laguna 1971; Swayze 1960; Jenness 1991; Morrison 1992) and William Wintemberg (Swayze 1960; Trigger 1978; Wright 1988). Nevertheless, the full picture remains far from complete. My purpose, therefore, is simply to fill a few historical gaps. I begin with a brief overview of staff and operating conditions between 1911 and 1950, showing four good years, 31 years of recession, and four more good years. That is followed by a summary of contributions by Harlan Smith and Douglas Leechman, two poorly known but important NMC archaeology program builders.

A Thumbnail Sketch of the Archaeology Section, 1911–1950

The Archaeology Section was conceived as a small unit with three to four permanent staff having Canada-wide duties in archaeological exploration and research, information dissemination, conservation, and public service (BAAS 1909; Sapir 1911, 1912; Smith 1912a, 1912b, 1912c). Harlan I. Smith, an American Museum of Natural History archaeologist with 20 years experience in British Columbia and several US states, was hired as senior archaeologist in June 1911 (Figure 1; Sapir 1911:790; Wintemberg 1940:63). Shortly afterward, a number of term and contract staff, both technicians and scholars, were hired for museum projects across the country. Two of these, William J. Wintemberg and Diamond Jenness, eventually became permanent museum employees (Figures 2–3). For the first few years, the program was well-funded and showed rapid expansion into field research, exhibition and education programmes, collections organization, and scholarly publishing (Smith 1913a, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917). During this time, country-wide explorations were launched. Only three years into the new programme, however, World War I dealt the Museum a solid setback (Smith 1917:295; McConnell 1917:1–2; Collins 1928:47). The building was closed to the public for use by Parliament, operational funds were cut, fieldwork ceased and publications were curtailed. After the war, the museum was slow to recover. As the 1920s began to boom, museum programming resumed, but funding remained tight and archaeology was down-graded to give greater

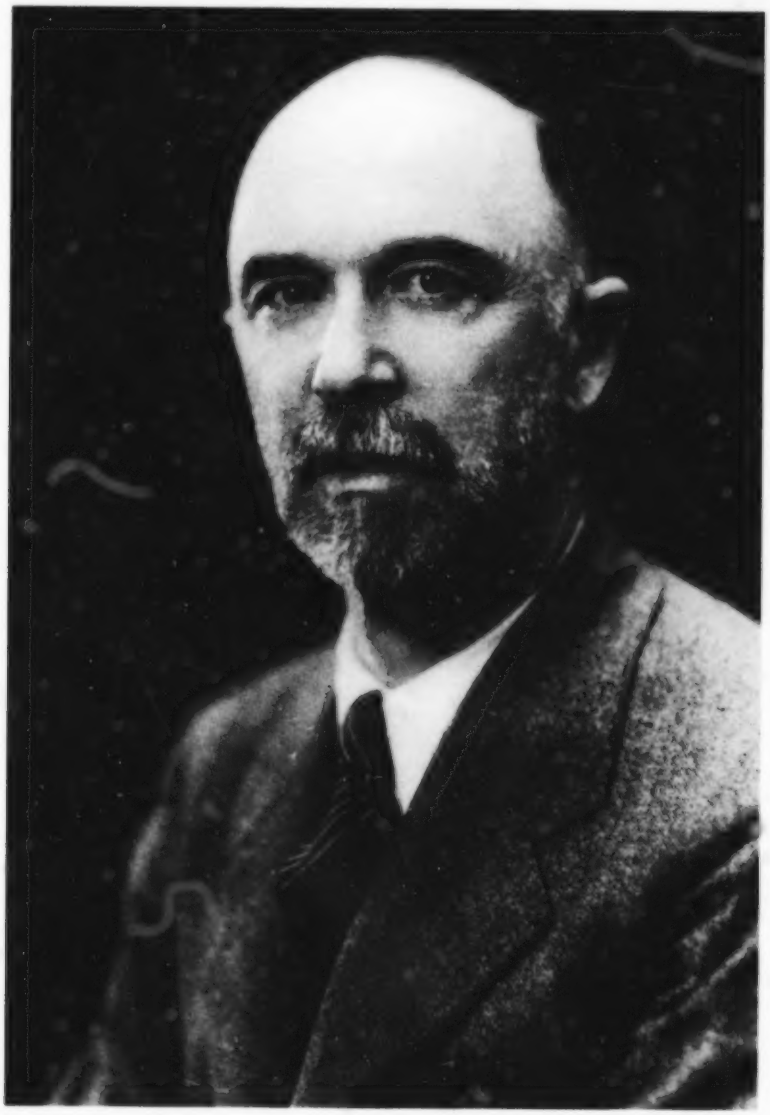

Figure 1. Portrait of Harlan I. Smith, 1872–1940, taken in later life. Canadian Museum of Civilization photo no. 99477.

priority to ethnology. The sole addition to staff during the 1920s was Douglas Leechman who became collections technician in 1924 (Sapir in McInnes 1924:36; Sapir in Bolton 1925:37).

In 1925 Edward Sapir resigned and moved to Chicago. Diamond Jenness replaced him as Anthropology Division Chief in January 1926 (Russell 1961:20), a position he held until early 1931 when the situation became untenable and he asked to be relieved. Jenness' first term as Chief, however, brought him into an intense involvement with archaeology which lasted well into the 1930s. The period from 1931 to 1941 included the Great Depression and the beginning of World War II, and was a time of increasingly tight finances. Field work was al-

Figure 2. W.J. Wintemberg in 1932. Canadian Museum of Civilization photo no. 76089 by Marius Barbeau.

Figure 3. Diamond Jenness at Bernard Harbour, 11 July 1916, during the Canadian Arctic Expedition. Canadian Museum of Civilization photo no. 51237 by G.H. Wilkins.

most impossible. In 1937 Smith retired without replacement. Jenness and Wintemberg laboured on under considerable restriction until their departures in 1941. Throughout World War II, and until 1947, the Museum was closed to the public and much of its space was appropriated to war use. After 1941 it fell to Douglas Leechman to carry the archaeology program through its leanest years. When those years finally ended, however, he had the satisfaction of being the architect for a rejuvenated Anthropology Division. It was Leechman who recruited and hired R.S. MacNeish and Thomas Lee in 1949 as the first of a new generation of Museum archaeologists. 1950 marked the end of an era for the National Museum of Canada, a time when a long administrative relationship with the Geological Survey was severed and the Museum was moved under the control of a huge new Department of Resources and Development (Russell 1961:9).

Parts of this history are fairly well known, particularly the achievements and honours of Diamond Jenness and the Ontario work of William J. Wintemberg. Jenness is justly renowned for his monumental book, The Indians of Canada (1932), and for his pioneering studies in arctic archaeology and ethnography, including definition of the Dorset culture (1925). Wintemberg is often remembered as a pioneer of Iroquoian archaeology. He did monographic studies on a string of Ontario sites including Roebuck (1936), Uren (1928), Lawson (1939a), Sidey-Mackay (1946) and Middleport (1948). The attention that has been given these scholars is well-deserved, but the work of their two associates, Smith and Leechman, seems to have fallen into the shadows. Consequently, before any well-rounded assessment of National Museum of Canada archaeology can be undertaken, the contributions of Smith and Leechman will have to be acknowledged and included.

Figure 4. Harlan Smith, near Bella Coola in 1922, carrying plaster of paris casts of petroglyphs.
Canadian Museum of Civilization photo no. 55792.

Harlan Smith's Contributions to Canadian Archaeology, 1911–1937

Harlan I. Smith (1872–1940) was an indefatigable scientist, a dedicated educator, and a consummate organization man (Figure 4). He was one of the founders of the American Anthropological Association and a member of many other anthropological, ethnological, geographical and museum societies (Wintemberg 1940). His publication list contains 202 entries, approximately half of which were generated after he arrived at the GSC/NMC (Leechman 1949a). Smith made substantial contributions to the archaeological literature of Canada, but he spent much of his GSC/NMC career working at ancillary tasks aimed at reinforcement of a discipline which

Figure 5. Noon lunch for the 1915 Nickerson field party at McGormon Mound, Arden, Manitoba. Canadian Museum of Civilization photo no. 33466 by W.B. Nickerson.

Figure 6. NMC crew excavating at the Roebuck Village site, 5 July 1912. Canadian Museum of Civilization photo no. 17110 by Harlan Smith.

was constantly accused of being non-economic and non-essential. Perhaps the best way to show this is to briefly describe the areas on which he focused attention.

The Archaeology Files

Upon his arrival in 1911, Smith's first concern was to assess and organize existing collections and knowledge within the Museum (Smith 1912b:391–2, 1917:396–8). In doing so he established a set of archaeological site and specimen files, organized by geographic location and cross-referenced by subject. As the years went by, Smith and Wintemberg maintained this file zealously. By the time of Smith's death in 1940 it occupied eleven four-drawer filing cabinets and was the most complete and up-to-date reference tool of its type in Canada (Leechman 1942). These files survive in the Canadian Museum of Civilization Library as parts of the voluminous Smith and Wintemberg papers.

Exploration of Canada's Archaeological Resources

Smith's second major concern was to launch a systematic exploration of archaeological resources pertaining to Canada's native peoples (Smith 1912a:175, 1912b:391–2). Throughout his career Smith stressed detailed descriptive and functional analysis, and hoped that cultural classifications would eventually ensue. Without going into detail we can take a very brief look at the early work of the Archaeology Section in each region.

British Columbia

Smith made many surveys in British Columbia from 1913 to 1929 paying particular attention to shell middens (e.g., Smith 1929) and rock art (Smith 1927, 1936). Leechman made additional surveys in the late 1940s.

The Prairies

Between 1912 and 1915 Smith commissioned surveys and excavations in the mounds region

Figure 7. W.J. Wintemberg unpacking specimens from Roebuck Village excavations, in the archaeology laboratory at the Victoria Memorial Museum Building, 1912. Canadian Museum of Civilization photo no. 22215.

Figure 8. NMC field party excavating shell-heap A on Quarry Island, Merigomish Harbor, Nova Scotia in 1914.
Canadian Museum of Civilization photo no. 27771 by H.I. Smith.

of southwestern Manitoba by W.B. Nickerson (Figure 5; Nickerson 1913, 1914; Capes 1963). The earliest Alberta work was undertaken by Smith himself — a 1913 reconnaissance of Banff National Park. In 1925 Wintemberg (1939b) did a survey of southern parts of the prairie provinces and recorded sites such as the Rumsey boulder monument in Alberta and the Roche Percée petroglyphs in Saskatchewan. In 1948 Leechman also made an archaeological tour of the prairies.

Ontario

Early surveys by Wintemberg, Smith, and Laidlaw were followed by extensive excavations by Wintemberg and Smith at Roebuck (Figure 6; Wintemberg 1936), and by a great deal more survey and excavation at other locales by Wintemberg. These produced large numbers of artifacts which considerably augmented the Museum collections (Figure 7).

Quebec

Smith and Wintemberg made early collections and ground surveys along the Ottawa and St. Lawrence rivers followed by more work by Wintemberg at places such as Tadoussac (*e.g.*, Wintemberg 1943).

The Maritimes

Wintemberg and Smith did surveys and excavations in Nova Scotia during 1913–1914 (Figure 8; Smith and Wintemberg 1929). Wintemberg did other surveys in the Maritime provinces during subsequent years.

Newfoundland

Smith did not visit Newfoundland, but in 1927 Jenness searched the island for Beothuk remains (Jenness 1929). Two years later, Wintemberg discovered ancient Inuit remains (Wintemberg 1939c).

Figure 9. Vilhjalmur Stefansson at his typewriter in a field camp at Cape Kellett during the Canadian Arctic Expedition, 1 January 1916. Canadian Museum of Civilization photo no. 51099.

The Arctic

Arctic archaeology generally followed a separate though complementary and often international agenda during Smith's tenure as Head of the Archaeology Section. Here we will simply mention the pioneering work of Vilhjalmur Stefansson (Figure 9; Stefansson 1913, 1914), and the many influential works of Diamond Jenness (Collins and Taylor 1970).

Archaeology Exhibits

In 1912 the anthropology program received the second floor in the west wing of the new museum building and 43 new glass cases for exhibits (Collins 1928:48; Sapir 1913a:448). Archaeology was given cases toward the entrance to the Hall, and Harlan Smith divided existing museum collections into two series, one to show the range of prehistoric artifact types known across Canada, and another to show which types were found in each region (Figure 10; Smith 1914:380–81). As materials came in from field work, the archaeologists often made temporary exhibits to put a sample of the new materials on display.

Scholarly and Popular Publications

Smith prepared the first museum guide book in 1913, a well-illustrated 70 page volume on the archaeology of the southern interior of British Columbia. Thereafter, the Archaeology Section produced a gentle stream of scientific and popular books, articles, slides, and motion pictures (Pendergast 1976; Leechman 1949a, 1949b; Collins and Taylor 1970).

The Museum Lecture Series

In 1912 Smith created a Saturday morning lecture series for children, a program which was so popular that it soon mushroomed into one or two Saturday performances for children and two Wednesday evening sessions for adults (Russell 1961:32; Wilson in Collins 1932:3–8). Because of their popularity, these lectures were highly praised

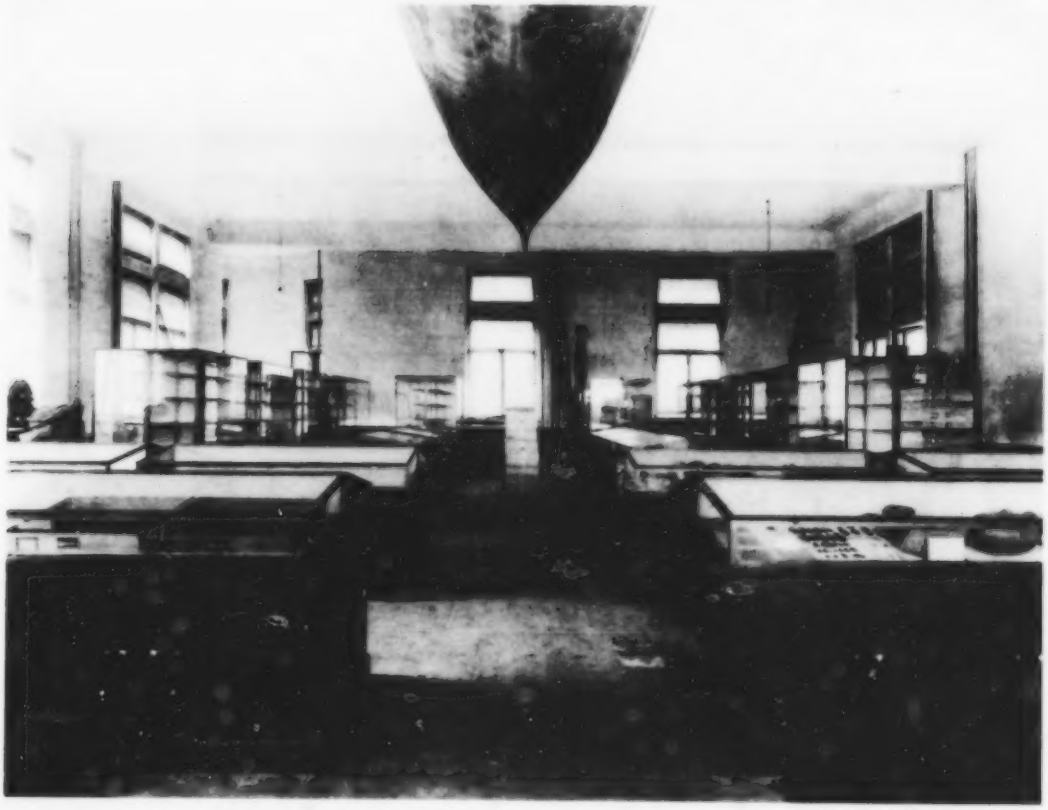

Figure 10. Archaeology exhibits in the Museum about 1912–13. Canadian Museum of Civilization photo no. 23368.

by senior bureaucrats and frequently used as an indicator of public support for Museum programs (Camsell 1922:1). Smith bore much of the administrative burden for the lectures during the first twenty years. He established regular use of lantern slides and developed a slide library for loans and reference. Later, he introduced motion pictures to both field work and the lecture series. He organized the first film lending library in Canada at the Museum, a predecessor of the National Film Board. By 1927 the lecture series was drawing 9550 children per season and 2312 adults (Collins 1929:4). However, it was 1931 before Smith finally was relieved of this responsibility, one which subsequently evolved into a formal museum education program with its own staff.

Economic Justifications for Archaeology

About 1916 Smith began to concern himself with economic arguments for continued government support of archaeology. This was partly in response to a clause in the 1909 BAAS petition, but it appears to have been precipitated by the exigencies of World War I including a 1914 change in management which brought deep cuts and incessant demands for such justification (Sapir in Darnell 1976:104; McInnes 1919b:11A; Collins 1928:47; Zaslow 1975:309–333). Smith took up the challenge and produced a remarkable but nearly forgotten study entitled, *An Album of Prehistoric Canadian Art* (1923). This provided the first major reference for ar-

tistic designs from aboriginal Canada, designs from rock art, decorated tools, and ceramics. The project was intended both as an aid to the development of native craft industries and also for broader use in commercial and industrial design. Throughout the life of the project Smith worked assiduously to disseminate the information to target groups, with a good deal of success (McInnes 1919a:9A; Smith in Collins 1933:8).

Defense of Museum Operations During the War

During World War I, when the Museum was closed, Smith also worked hard to justify its continued existence. He wrote articles explaining that museum programmes could give the public a broader, perhaps more optimistic view of life at a time when prospects seemed bleak (Smith 1918). He urged the government to pay attention to special expertise available in the museum, in respect to topography, geology, anthropology, and living off the land. If the makers of trenches had consulted museum geologists, he argued, they might have avoided drainage problems which claimed thousands of soldiers' lives. Moreover, soldiers who found themselves in remote places or behind enemy lines might benefit from survival skills learned from anthropologists and archaeologists. The Government noticed Smith's comments and conscripted him into a special committee for the drafting of manuals containing such information.

Support of Ethnology during the Interwar Period

After World War I, Museum staff were able to reoccupy the Museum building, but found it difficult to retrieve their operating funds (McInnes 1921:17; Camsell 1924:5; Zaslow 1975:357). As a consequence, Edward Sapir decided to give higher priority to ethnological work and suggested that Smith find a way to help. Smith's solution was do a combination of ethnological and archaeological work in the Bellacoola area of British Columbia, a region that was of mutual interest. Smith also extended his ethnographic work east onto the Plains. The resulting ethnological collections and records were used both in exhibits and publications, and are of continuing value.

In Situ Conservation

Another of Smith's deep concerns, one also mentioned in the 1909 BAAS petition, was *in situ* conservation of aboriginal heritage resources. Much of Smith's conservation work was done through and for the Canadian Parks Branch, beginning in 1913 with inspection of a prehistoric earthwork near St. Thomas, Ontario (Smith 1914:381–2). He recommended to the Commissioner of Dominion Parks that this site contained the most perfect of Canadian earthworks east of the Rocky Mountains and should be preserved as a park. That same year Smith did a reconnaissance of Banff National Park discovering a series of semi-subterranean house ruins which to his knowledge marked the eastern limit of that house style in Canada. He recommended protection there as well, and Parks staff acted immediately by marking the sites and issuing penalty warnings about their disturbance. Smith noted that this was the first time that prehistoric remains had been protected in a Dominion park (Smith 1914:381). In later years he recommended protection for many other sites (*e.g.*, Smith 1916:277; Smith in Bolton 1926:42; Smith 1936).

Yet another important aspect of Smith's conservation work was more closely tied to ethnological interests and occurred during the mid to late 1920s. During that time he served as scientific field supervisor for the Interdepartmental Totem Pole Conservation Committee, a cooperative venture between the National Museum, native communities in British Columbia, the Canadian National Railway, and the Department of Indian affairs (Bolton 1926:32; Smith 1928). The purpose of the Committee was to preserve decaying totem poles in place, both as means of supporting native cultures and as an impetus to tourism (Figure 11). The antics of the Deputy Minister of Indian Affairs, Dr

Figure 11. Raising a restored pole (No. 19) at Kitwanga, 29 July 1925, part of the work of the Totem Pole Conservation Committee. Canadian Museum of Civilization photo no. 64323 by Harlan Smith.

Duncan Campbell Scott, eventually precipitated the Museum's withdrawal from the Committee, but during his involvement Smith was central to the successes the program had.

During one of his many expeditions to British Columbia, Smith encountered Douglas Leechman digging at a shell midden near Esquimalt and struck up an acquaintance (Leechman 1942). The next year, 1924, Leechman joined the Museum staff as a collections curator.

Douglas Leechman's Contributions, 1924–1950

Douglas Leechman (1890–1980) was a man of eclectic interests and abilities — a good technician, a prolific writer and editor, an educator, planner and scholar (Figure 12). Because of continuing low staff levels, museum scholars encouraged technicians with scholarly ability to attempt such work in the hope of eventually being promoted into scientific positions. Wintemberg was one who followed this route and Leechman was another (Scargill 1981). The first part of Leechman's museum career coincided with Diamond Jenness' first term as Division Chief. Jenness became Leechman's mentor and encouraged his development during the 1920s and 1930s. In 1928 Leechman became editor of an important journal, *The Canadian Field Naturalist*, a position which accentuated his writing and editorial capabilities and which he held until 1938. In 1931 Leechman produced his first major Museum publication, a manual for the preservation of anthropological specimens. During the early 1930s he assisted Jenness with the creation of a habitat group, including an Eskimo igloo, for the Anthropology Hall (Leechman in Collins 1933:8, 1934:9). Between 1934 and 1936

Figure 12. Douglas Leechman in 1949.
National Film Board of Canada photo in Canadian Museum of Civilization photo files.

Jenness also encouraged Leechman to undertake archaeological explorations in the Eastern Arctic (Leechman 1943a, 1943b, 1945). Moreover, during the mid 1930s Leechman, while continuing work at the Museum, enrolled in studies at the University of Ottawa earning a B.Sc. degree in 1938, an M.A. in 1940, and a Ph.D. in 1941 (Simpson 1980). By that time both Smith and Wintemberg had died and Jenness had been seconded for war work leaving the veteran ethnologist, Marius Barbeau, as the sole Anthropology Division scholar.

In 1941, while the Anthropology Division was at its lowest ebb in thirty years, Leechman was promoted to a position as archaeologist. And although the prospects at first seemed dim, he embraced his new duties with vigor and enthusiasm. Between that time and the end of the 1940s he was able to bring many old projects to completion and lay the groundwork for a rejuvenated Anthropology Division. As I see them, Leechman's main accomplishments, while in charge of the Archaeology Section, were the following.

His first priority was completion of important unfinished work, primarily that left by Wintemberg. Leechman spent considerable time during the early 1940s finishing, editing, and finding publication outlets for four substantial Wintemberg manuscripts, including: "Distribution of Aboriginal Pottery" (Wintemberg 1942), "Artifacts from Ancient Workshop Sites at

Figure 13. Frederica de Laguna (left) and Catharine McClellan excavating at the Parker Site on the Trent River in 1947, ancillary work to the Leechman–de Laguna survey on the St. Lawrence River. Canadian Museum of Civilization photo no. J433 by Douglas Leechman.

Tadoussac" (Wintemberg 1943), "Sidey-Mackay Village" (Wintemberg 1946), and (4) "Middleport Village" (Wintemberg 1948). He also assembled and published old annual reports for 1939–47 and bibliographies honouring the works of both Smith and Wintemberg (Leechman 1949a, 1949b).

Between 1941 and 1947 Leechman laid the groundwork for a revitalized Anthropology Division in a series of influential internal reports which outlined the state and value of the Museum's collections, collection storage needs, staffing needs, a proposal for exhibit space allocation in preparation for Museum reopening, an article on the economic value of the National Museum of Canada (Leechman 1946a), and a comprehensive plan for post-war needs of the National Museum of Canada (Leechman Papers, CMC).

In addition, during 1943 Leechman wrote a research proposal which enabled him to begin an archaeological survey of the St. Lawrence Seaway in 1947 (Figure 13; Leechman Papers, CMC; Leechman and de Laguna 1949a, 1949b), a project which was continued and expanded by Norman Emerson in later years. During 1944, American archaeology along Canadian portions of the newly constructed Alaska Highway prompted him to rekindle an old Museum interest in the Yukon and the migration routes thought to have been followed by original occupants of the western hemisphere (Leechman 1946b). Much of his archaeological and ethnological field work from 1945 to 1950 was related to those concerns. In 1949 Leechman hired R.S. "Scotty" MacNeish to expand this work (see Figure 1 in chapter 6, this volume). That was also the year that Leechman hired Thomas Lee to rejuvenate the Museum's archaeology in Ontario and Quebec (Figure 14).

Throughout his career Leechman published many small articles, several films, and a few books on a broad range of archaeological, ethnological, historical, and lexicographical subjects. *The Loon's Necklace* (1949), a film about a Northwest Coast Indian legend, and his book, *Native Tribes of Canada* (1957), are both quite well known. Many of us have referred to articles such as his 1951 paper "Bone Grease". According to one estimate, Leechman's list of publications amounted to about 500 titles (Leechman Papers, BCPA). Some of them are still being rediscovered as researchers probe little-known areas of study. Yet, so far as I have been able to determine, no comprehensive

Figure 14. Thomas Lee sitting on a large grinding stone with 12 mortar basins on the Hankinson farm in east Elgin County, Ontario, 1949. Canadian Museum of Civilization photo no. J1018.

Leechman bibliography was ever published. Therefore, it is not altogether surprising that some people have been inclined to dismiss his contributions as negligible while pointing to an absence of comprehensive reports on his Eastern Arctic and Yukon work. I think that such judgements are premature.

Conclusion

When a history of archaeology in the National Museum of Canada is finally written it should include the contributions of Harlan I. Smith and Douglas Leechman. Like their better known colleagues, Diamond Jenness and William Wintemberg, Smith and Leechman contributed to the advancement of archaeological research in many parts of Canada. Both were organization men who devoted much of their careers to background roles as program developers, facilitators, and museum defenders. Their efforts provided shelter and support for those who worked with them, and foundations for those who were to follow.

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Chapter 11

The Role of the University of Manitoba in the Development of Manitoba Archaeology

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Abstract
Commencing with salvage work, the University of Manitoba Department of Anthropology functioned in the 1960s as an incubator for rapidly-growing palaeoenvironmental and historic period emphases in archaeology. As pre- and post-contact period research mushroomed in the '70s and '80s, strong ethnobotanical and faunal analytical specialities became established. A significant diversity of local professionals and avocationalists, institutions, and approaches matured and now typify the '90s. Today, active and productive exploration, documentation, interpretation, and transfer of resulting knowledge are characteristic. Manitoba graduates continue to carry out and lead many of these activities at the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature, in provincial and national agencies, and in private practice.

Résumé
Durant les années soixante le Département de l'anthropologie de l'Université du Manitoba entreprenait des fouilles archéologiques de récupération. Cette époque encouragea le développement et accorda de l'importance aux études de la période historique en archéologie. Comme la recherche des périodes pré- et post-contact se trouvait en pleine expansion durant les années soixante-dix et quatre-vingt, une spécialisation en ethnobotanie et en analyse faunistique fut établie. Une diversité importante de professionnels, de défenseurs de la cause, d'institutions ainsi que leurs approches ont atteint une certaine maturité qui caractérise l'archéologie d'aujourd'hui. L'archéologie au Manitoba de nos jours est une science active et productive du côté de l'exploration, mais également du côté de sa documentation, son interprétation et son transfer de connaissances au public. Les diplômées du Manitoba prennent maintenant la relève étant organisateurs et participants aux activités du Musée de l'homme et de la nature du Manitoba, des agences gouvernementaux et des entreprises privées.

Bringing Back the Past: Historical Perspectives on Canadian Archaeology, edited by P.J. Smith and D. Mitchell. Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, Archaeological Survey of Canada, Mercury Series No. 158, 1998:135–150

From archaeological fieldwork support beginning in 1961 at Grand Rapids Reservoir, the University of Manitoba moved quickly to establish a department of Anthropology and Sociology in 1962. This department split in 1967, leaving an autonomous four-field anthropology undergraduate and graduate M.A. programme already well established. By the time William J. Mayer-Oakes (Figure 1), the founding head of both departments, resigned in 1971, an active teaching and research programme with a strong

Figure 1. Dr William J. Mayer-Oakes, field archaeologist and founding Head of the Department of Anthropology, University of Manitoba.
Photo courtesy of W.J. Mayer-Oakes.

emphasis on Manitoba archaeology was in place.

When reviewing this first decade from the perspective of 1997, it is clear that Manitoba participated strongly in the widespread 1960s North American growth in higher education that saw anthropology programmes emerging in both new and older universities in Canada and the U.S. At Manitoba, the academic structural changes for that decade included freeing up the long-established Scottish-based framework of flagship university "umbrella exams," leaving in 1971 three universities (Brandon, Manitoba, and Winnipeg) where there had been one combined entity in 1961.

It is also clear that the time and the academic climate were ripe for active development of the new (to Manitoba) field of anthropology as an important discipline of provincial, national and international scholarship. The two departments — initially Anthropology and Sociology, and subsequently Anthropology — were the mechanisms used to introduce and develop the field. The archaeological specialities of the Department Head placed an emphasis on this sub-discipline at the University of Manitoba. The period is probably best described as one of intensive "incubation" that involved a wide range of both internal and external activities that served to rather rapidly bring the province up to a North American "mainstream" status and context for both anthropology and archaeology.

Research

Salvage Archaeology

The initial U of M archaeological research focus was on the boreal forest sites located during the Grand Rapids Forebay Survey (GRFS) and Tailrace Bay excavations of 1961 and 1962. The GRFS project was the initial archaeological work supported by the University of Manitoba, and was also funded by the National Museum, via R. S. (Scotty) MacNeish. The Survey and subsequent intensive excavations documented 34 sites and occupation levels that collectively represented McKean, Laurel, Blackduck, Selkirk, Sandy Lake, and early historic habitations. Included were several rock painting sites. An important component of the Grand Rapids project was a comprehensive faunal analysis on recoveries from the Tailrace Bay site. This work, the first in-house piece of zooarchaeological research ever undertaken in Manitoba, was conducted by Paul Lukens (1970) of Wisconsin State University, Superior. As will be seen below, it proved to be the harbinger of things to come — 25 years later!

Support from a variety of sources for the Grand Rapids Project led directly to the estab-

lishment of the Department and appointment of Mayer-Oakes as its first head. Obtaining sufficient lab space at the U of M's Fort Garry campus and funding for a full-time Winnipeg Floodway Project archaeologist set the tone early for both research and lab needs.

The Winnipeg Floodway Project, like that at Grand Rapids, was a salvage endeavour. Plans were afoot in the early 1960s to excavate a 25-mile diversion that would redirect the waters of the Red River around the city to just below Lockport. The two-year programme began in the summer of 1963, financed by a combined grant from the Province, the University, and the National Museum of Canada.

Preliminary test excavations were conducted in May by members of the Manitoba Archaeological Society and students from the Department, with major excavations beginning in June under the direction of Tim Fiske in his capacity as Research Associate in Archaeology with the Department. These were directed at two threatened burial mounds, both of which had been seriously disturbed by excavations in the past century (Hlady 1964a, b). Nonetheless, a sizeable amount of osteological and cultural material was taken in hand, and these recoveries, together with those from a further burial unearthed the following summer, formed the basis of a Master's thesis a decade later (Saylor 1976). In the 1964 phase of the Winnipeg Floodway Project, attention was focused on a habitation site that produced evidence of the Laurel, Blackduck, and Selkirk complexes and the historic period (Fiske 1964).

The Grand Rapids and Floodway salvage efforts gave way to the much larger Churchill Diversion Archaeological Project (CDAP) in 1969 (Kroker 1990). Although this multi-year programme was initially administered by the Manitoba Archaeological Society and subsequently by the University of Winnipeg, Dr Tom Shay of the Department was among those who submitted a brief to the Province urging management of the heritage resources within the impact zone. Subsequently, Leo Pettipas served on the CDAP Advisory Committee.

Furthermore, several U of M graduate students working on CDAP produced M.A. theses on material recovered during the project (Dickson 1972; Kelly 1978; Tisdale 1977). With the completion of the CDAP in 1974 and the establishment of a staff archaeologist position within the provincial government, new opportunities in salvage, historic site, and problem-oriented archaeology arose for faculty members and students in the Department (*e.g.*, Balcom 1978; Snortland-Coles 1979a; Zwiazek and Shay 1984).

Environmental Archaeology

Various offices in Ottawa (National Research Council, National Museum, and Parks) were helpful in supporting our interests in embarking on long-term programmes of environmental archaeology of the Glacial Lake Agassiz basin and historic archaeology at Lower Fort Garry. The Glacial Lake Agassiz Survey (GLAS) (Figure 2), which commenced in 1965, arose from Mayer-Oakes' entry into the Glacial Lake Agassiz region in 1962.

It soon became clear that the ancient lake and its history, with all its implications for "environmental" archaeology, should become the focus for local attention. Interest in the subject was spurred in 1964 by a report of Palaeo-Indian ("Plano") points, and preliminary testing of the find site, within the Lake Agassiz basin near the western shore of Lake Winnipegosis (Fiske 1964). An indication of the Department's commitment to environmental archaeology was its hosting of "The 1966 Conference on Environmental Studies of the Glacial Lake Region" at the University of Manitoba and the ensuing publication of the proceedings in the book *Life, Land and Water* (Mayer-Oakes 1967).

Environmental archaeology, as the term was understood in the early 1960s, assumed an holistic approach in that it sought to integrate the archaeological record with the proceeds of certain earth and biological sciences. It was considered appropriate to describe past lifeways within the context of their natural environments. The overall natural setting was perceived as being important, as it comprised the logical stage or backdrop of the cultural-historical reconstructions. Additionally, however, there was an attempt to determine and explain broad correlations between continuity and change in the palaeoecological and palaeocultural records.

Figure 2. The 1967 Glacial Lake Agassiz Survey crew: left to right, Morgan Tamplin, Steven Baker, Les Leonoff, Patrick Carmichael; Gary Dickson in back. Photo courtesy of Laboratory of Anthropology, University of Manitoba.

The time was ripe for inauguration of an environmental archaeology programme in Manitoba. By the mid 1960s, research activity in the relevant sister disciplines of surficial geology (Elson 1961, 1962, 1967), palynology (Ritchie 1964, 1966, 1967; Shay 1967), palaeopedology (David 1971) and invertebrate palaeontology (Delorme 1971; Zoltai 1969) were either well established and on-going, or were getting under way. The Department's response to these developments and the opportunities they presented was the hiring of C. Thomas Shay in 1967 and Leo Pettipas in 1969. Both held strong interest in human palaeoecological research.

However, the first summer of the Glacial Lake Agassiz Survey (1965) was led by Matthew Hill (now at the University of Waterloo), with Morgan Tamplin (now of Trent University) taking over the following year and remaining in charge through to the project's completion in 1969. At the outset, the Survey was primarily intended to provide some indication of the nature of pre-European occupation of the prominent Campbell strand-line of Lake Agassiz. In the event, areas on, above, and below the Campbell were examined, and evidence of some 10,000 years of human history was documented. The Glacial Lake Agassiz Survey ran for four consecutive years, the third of which included a historical component aimed at recording some of the rich post-contact heritage resources of the study area.

A most welcome complement to the Survey was the concurrent field research of John Elson, a Pleistocene geologist at McGill University with interests not only in the geochronology of Lake

Agassiz but also in the human history pertaining to the precincts of the lake while it existed. The Lake Agassiz Survey had far-reaching consequences in that it consolidated interest in southern Manitoba archaeology by certain key individuals (Syms, Pettipas) who went on to make careers in it. It also resulted in several theses (Friedenthal 1971; Joyes 1969; Leonoff 1970; Pettipas 1967; Syms 1969) and a variety of spin-off publications (*e.g.*, Joyes 1970; Pettipas 1970; Syms 1970) that stemmed either directly from the Survey itself or from follow-on fieldwork (Colwill 1973; Magne 1978a), some of it initiated by U of M graduate students (Haug 1977; Saylor 1975a). The publication output included an interdisciplinary annotated bibliography of the Quaternary in Manitoba and the adjacent Lake Agassiz region, including archaeology, published by the Manitoba government with involvement of Department staff (Bannatyne, Zoltai and Tamplin 1970).

The 5000-year-long duration of Lake Agassiz, the baseline theme of the Glacial Lake Agassiz Survey, set the time frame for initial environmental archaeological research in Manitoba to either side of the Late Glacial–Early Holocene temporal boundary of 10,000 years ago. This block of time and the concurrent life-span of Lake Agassiz coincided rather nicely with the "Palaeo-Indian" period of human history.

By the time the Survey had terminated, all three Palaeo-Indian big game-hunting traditions of the North American Interior — Clovis (11,500–11,000 BP), Folsom (11,000–10,000 BP) and Plano (10,000–7500 BP) — had been identified archaeologically in Manitoba. Of the three, the Plano was by far the most abundantly represented. The notable scarcity of Clovis and Folsom index fossils/sites in southern Manitoba has been variously explained by failure of the contemporaneous vegetation community (boreal-type forest) to accommodate or attract sizeable populations of big game animals upon which the Clovis and Folsom economies were founded; frequent icing of the ground surface that also discouraged long-term residence of megafauna; glacial re-advances; inundation of major portions of the landscape by glacial meltwater; and deep burial of such archaeological sites as may have been present due to collapse and inversion of ground surface from the melting of buried ice.

Abrupt replacement of the Late Glacial boreal-type forest by grassland around 10,000 BP (early Plano times) led to a markedly increased carrying capacity and a corresponding influx of grazing vertebrates, notably bison, into south-western Manitoba. As a result, a comparatively substantial human population became established in the region, as indicated by the large number of Plano archaeological sites and find-spots. Comprehensive human colonization of southern Manitoba during later Plano times was facilitated by the regression and final disappearance of Lake Agassiz and the concomitant increase in available *lebensraum* between 9000 and 7500 BP.

In 1972, a survey was designed and led by Stanley Saylor, a graduate student in the Department, in the Sandilands Provincial Forest. The objective of the project was to determine pre-contact human–land relationships in an archaeologically unknown region of the province. As the earliest lake-free area in south-eastern Manitoba, it had prospects of containing sites contemporary with Glacial Lake Agassiz (Saylor 1975a). The key result of this project was discovery of workshop material deposited shortly after the formation of the Campbell strand-line. With an estimated age of somewhere between 9500 and 10,000 BP, it was then, and remains today, the oldest archaeological site scientifically excavated in Manitoba (Saylor 1975b).

The geographically comprehensive nature of the Glacial Lake Agassiz Survey gave rise to the recognition of the ubiquitous "Swan River Chert," a type of lithic raw material that has since been reported over much of Western Canada and the northern plains states. The interest in lithic resources culminated in the first-ever regional study on the subject (Leonoff 1970). The abundance of Swan River Chert within and around the district of that name stimulated subsequent re-survey of known workshop loci, and random sampling and intensive excavations along the Bell River that flows down the eastern slope of Porcupine Mountain. This work was conducted by Shay and graduate student Martin Magne in 1977 and 1978 (Magne 1978a, 1978b; Magne and Shay

Figure 3. Greg Monks (right), with students Laurie Friesen and Tony Scaletta, at Upper Fort Garry excavations, 1982. Photo courtesy of Laboratory of Anthropology, University of Manitoba.

1980; Shay 1979, 1980a) and was succeeded by further lithic raw material research by students in the Department (Campling 1980; Thomson 1994; Burns 1995).

Not part of the Lake Agassiz Survey but directly related to its objectives was the work conducted near Carberry by Jack Steinbring of the Department of Anthropology at United College, then affiliated with the University of Manitoba. Steinbring's (1966a) interests centred upon the potential relationship between Palaeo-Indian (Plano) occupation of the Assiniboine delta and associated palaeo-channels of the ancient Assiniboine River. In 1966, Steinbring also published the results of his research on Old Copper in Manitoba up to that date. His study (Steinbring 1966b) was the first of its kind for the province.

Northern Archaeology

Mayer-Oakes had been introduced to the area north of 55 degrees by Scotty MacNeish, Harry Moody, Joe Robertson and others while initiating work in southern Saskatchewan (Mayer-Oakes 1960) from his post at the University of Toronto. During the latter part of August 1962, Mayer-Oakes conducted a short survey in the Wolverine River area at the northernmost reaches of Manitoba, an experience that culminated in much more intensive survey and excavation in the northern Manitoba–southern District of Keewatin region by the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature in later years (Nash 1975). Similarly, limited fieldwork at Arctic Small Tool Tradition sites on and near the Hudson Bay coast by Mayer-Oakes and Fiske in 1964 led directly to Nash's more intensive work in the latter half of the '60s (Nash 1969; Meyer 1971) with financial support from the Department.

Historical Archaeology

During 1965 through 1967 the National Historic Sites Service contracted the University of Manitoba to conduct excavations at the Lower Fort Garry National Historic Park. This Hudson's Bay Company post was occupied by the Company from 1830 to 1911, following which it was used as a country club until the federal government opened it to the public in 1961. Twenty-two major excavations, four minor excavations, and

numerous tests were conducted during the three-year period. The basic purpose of the work was to investigate as wide a range of activity and time as was possible in three field seasons, with emphasis on features outside of the fort enclosure. Archaeological examination of major structures was also emphasized. These structures represented very nearly the full time span for occupation of the fort, as well as many functions. A small part of the project's effort was directed toward support of immediate restoration planned for the principal residence, the fur loft-retail store, and the south-west bastion. An even smaller amount of time was required for testing areas prior to their disturbance for purposes of construction or maintenance (Chism 1972).

In 1977, Dr Greg Monks, newly-arrived on staff, commenced a programme of historical archaeology of his own. In conjunction with the Province's Historic Resources Branch, two seasons of fieldwork were conducted at the Fort Dauphin site in 1978 and 1979. The objectives of this research were to (1) produce an archaeological record of the Fort Dauphin site, (2) further the methodology for detecting intra-site social groupings, and (3) begin a study into cultural-environmental relations in terms of subsistence and fur trade economy (Monks 1979). One M.A. thesis resulted from this project (Bradford 1985).

In 1981 Monks began excavations at the Upper Fort Garry site in Bonnycastle Park, located in downtown Winnipeg (Figure 3). The objective of this project, which continued on through 1982 and 1983, was to determine the exact location and condition of that portion of Upper Fort Garry that lay buried beneath the park (Monks 1982).

Three M.A. theses ensued (Fifik 1986; Larcombe 1988; Seyers 1988), and another is presently under way. A major site report is in progress; a number of publications have already appeared (Monks 1982, 1983, 1984; 1992; Loewen and Monks 1986, 1988); and another by Monks is currently in press. The major significance of this site and the work that went on there is the presence of water-saturated deposits in which a prodigious amount of seldom-seen organic cultural and environmental material was recovered. Stabilization and conservation of these materials were accomplished under arrangement with the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature (Collins 1988). A number of conference presentations (*e.g.*, Shay 1985a, 1986a) and published papers (Shay 1984a, 1985b) on ethnobotany were realized from this project as well.

In 1988 and 1990, major excavations, again under Monks' supervision, were undertaken at the nearby junction of the Red and Assiniboine rivers (The Forks/CN East Yards). This work took place in preparation for the conversion of the area from active railway yards to an urban revitalization project. It was a significant instance of combining planned salvage archaeology with pure research, student training (see below under "Instruction and Curriculum Development") and urban redevelopment. One Master's thesis and a major publication are presently under way. The laboratory components of the Fort Dauphin, Upper Fort Garry, and CN East Yards archaeological projects have proceeded as funding, time, and interested students were available, and they are still continuing.

The results of this research have been a number of publications (*e.g.*, Monks 1985, 1992; Loewen and Monks 1986, 1988); one generally related Master's thesis (McLeod 1985); and two directly related Master's theses currently in progress. Field training and subsequent field and laboratory experience became available to a large number of students, as did exploration of the western fur trade in Manitoba, especially in the Red River Settlement. Monks continues actively to conduct historical archaeological research on the fur trade in Manitoba/the Red River Settlement, although it has not been the sole focus of attention. In addition to this main endeavour, four other Master's theses — three in prehistoric or historic faunal analysis (Balcom 1981, Balmer 1983, Roberts 1982) and one in Arctic historical archaeology (Phillips 1987) — were directed to completion.

In teaching historical archaeology, Monks had occasion to examine the history of its conduct in Canada. His enquiries disclosed that he was one of the first university-based researchers to develop and maintain a research and teaching programme in historical archaeology. At the time, only Knut Fladmark at Simon Fraser University offered a similar opportunity. Ken Dawson at Lakehead University was probably

Figure 4. C. Thomas Shay in earlier years, and still a leading ethnobotanist in Western Canada. Photo courtesy of C. Thomas Shay.

the sole previous university-based researcher who had a consistent programme of research in historical archaeology. Now, historical archaeology is well recognized in Canada as a viable research activity, and its practitioners in federal, provincial, and consulting/contracting contexts receive specific classroom and practical experience in historical archaeology. It can be truthfully said that the University of Manitoba was at the forefront of this movement.

Zooarchaeology

During the late '80s and early '90s, the archaeology section of the Department chose to specialise in faunal analysis. This emphasis has been reflected in the hiring of new faculty; by the mid '90s, three of the four full-time archaeologists on staff had specializations in this field. In 1995, the Department received funding from the University for a thin-section laboratory, the purpose of which is to make seasonal determinations from faunal remains such as teeth, otoliths, and shellfish (Burke 1995). It went into operation in the spring of 1996, and the first step in establishing it as a functioning unit capable of answering the needs of Manitoba archaeologists was the collection of control samples of Manitoba species.

Palaeoethnobotany

In addition to, and often in conjunction with, the historical archaeological focus, the Department has also been active in ethnobotanical research in Manitoba. Since 1983, Tom Shay (Figure 4) and his students have analysed more than 500 samples of plant remains from 19 archaeological sites in southern Manitoba and adjacent parts of Saskatchewan, North Dakota, Minnesota, and north-western Ontario. Over 15,000 seeds and several thousand pieces of charcoal have been identified. This work has provided many new insights.

For example, maize has been identified from late pre-contact deposits at Lockport, situated on the Red River north of Winnipeg (Deck and Shay 1992). This, along with the recovery of scapula hoes and storage pits from within the same horizon, may make Lockport the northernmost pre-contact Aboriginal agricultural site in North America known to date. Signs of pre-contact agriculture have also been found at two other sites. Most people in the area ate an assortment of wild berries, nuts, and seeds, among them goosefoot whose seeds contain twice the protein of domestic wheat.

When the early fur traders and settlers arrived, they adopted some Native foods but they also brought with them a number of crop seeds (Shay 1993a). Later, as the fur trade expanded and the Red River Settlement became established, imports of seeds and plant foods increased to include more exotic fare such as hazel nuts, walnuts, almonds, pecans, Brazil nuts, figs, and raisins. Evidence from Upper Fort Garry suggests that during the 19th century, wood for housing, furniture, and firewood was brought from as far as 100 kilometres away (Shay 1986b). Staff and student ethnobotanists, working hand in hand with university and other provincially-based archaeologists, have produced a number of reports and publications on diet and plant use during the pre-contact, fur trade and early settlement eras of Manitoba (*e.g.*, Shay 1992a, 1993b; Shay and Coristine 1991; Shay and Deck 1993; Shay *et al.* 1991).

Instruction and Curriculum Development

Under its initial two-discipline arrangement, both curriculum control and operational responsibility were split, with an anthropology Head but a sociology deputy given a free rein. A major anthropology sub-unit was at United College, which became a separate university (Winnipeg) before the end of the decade. It developed, under Jack Steinbring, a strong emphasis on Manitoba archaeology that became especially prominent in the 1970s and 1980s.

Mayer-Oakes' departure in 1971 and his replacement as Head brought with it marked changes in the Department's undergraduate course structure. While formerly the programme consisted of a limited core of full (*i.e.*, two-term) courses covering the major sub-disciplines of anthropology, emphasis was now placed on single-term courses, one of which was "Manitoba Prehistory". From time to time, term papers written in partial fulfilment of this course have been published in the *Manitoba Archaeological Journal* (*e.g.*, Brenner 1994; Burns 1995; Dawson 1995; Moravetz and Jezik 1994).

With the wide range of faculty expertise to be found at the U of M, it was only natural that interdisciplinary courses be developed. In 1985, a team-taught graduate course entitled "Principles of Quaternary Paleoclimatic Reconstruction" was offered by the Department of Earth Sciences. Tom Shay, with his long-standing interest in the topic, was the Department's participant along with colleagues from the departments of Earth Sciences, Botany, and Geography. Shay also developed and presented a course of his own entitled "Prehistoric Human Ecology."

In 1969, the first field school to be run by the Department was conducted by Shay out of the University Field Station at Delta Marsh. The month of July was spent surveying for sites in the area and excavating a small Late Woodland site on a beach ridge south of Lake Manitoba (Shay 1971).

Although Shay conducted the first field school out of the U of M, it was Greg Monks who got the Department involved in field school programming in a major way with his inaugural work at the Fort Dauphin site in 1978 (Monks, *et al.* 1983). Subsequently, the Tri-Universities Archaeological Field School was established — a joint programme in which each of the three Manitoba universities took its turn putting on the course.

Other Contributions

Advocacy

The watchdog and advocacy functions provided for by tenure and academic freedom were put into effect several times over the years as Departmental faculty spoke out, individually or in company with other members of the archaeo-

logical community, on planned developments that threatened archaeological resources and their interpretation.

The most concerted effort was directed toward the impending impact of the massive Churchill River Diversion hydro-electric project of the late 1960s. However, faculty members also spoke their minds on recreational development in the vicinity of the provincially-designated Stott site west of Brandon, the redevelopment of the Upper Fort Garry site and CN East Yards, and the Rafferty Dam project that would accelerate erosion along the Souris River. Through membership on Manitoba's Historic Sites Advisory Board, determined efforts were made by staff to promote and guide the preparation of progressive heritage legislation in the mid 1980s.

Technical Publications, Popular Writing, and The Net

Major in-house publication of research on Manitoba archaeology was also initiated by the U of M, using the proceedings of the 1966 NRC conference to establish both a University of Manitoba Press and a series of "Occasional Papers" for the Department of Anthropology (Mayer-Oakes 1967, 1970; Nash 1969).

The sharing of research results with the general public is a tradition of long standing in the Department. The very first project to be undertaken by staff resulted not only in a detailed technical report but a magazine article that was subsequently republished as a booklet (Mayer-Oakes 1963). Since then, various articles have been published by staff for non-specialists (*e.g.*, Pettipas 1971, 1972; Shay 1971, 1976, 1980b, 1984b, 1992b, 1993a).

On the initiative and under the leadership of Dr Brian Schwimmer of the Department, an *ad hoc* committee of the Manitoba Archaeological Society was established in late 1995 to organize and co-ordinate the development of Internet sites. Named the Manitoba Network Heritage Committee, the objective is to compile an information resource base for Manitoba cultural heritage. With members from three university departments, two government agencies, the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature, and two provincial heritage organizations, it represents the general public interest in Manitoba culture and culture history, and seeks to promote the specific development of on-line information resources as provided by member institutions from the Manitoba heritage community.

Scholar–Community Interaction

Having worked on the Grand Rapids Survey with personal support from both the provincial archivist and the Provincial Museum curator of anthropology, it was natural for Mayer-Oakes as the new Department Head to continue these governmental associations. He served on the Manitoba Historic Sites Advisory Board and on the Board of the Manitoba Museum, which planned for and built new quarters that were officially opened in 1970 by Her Majesty the Queen.

Mayer-Oakes was also a member of the Manitoba Archaeological Society's Committee on the Manitoba Historic Sites Act (Gonsalves *et al.* 1965), proclaimed in 1967 as *The Historic Sites and Objects Act*. Over the years, U of M faculty and students have served on the Society executive, delivered papers at the Society's annual conferences, and contributed articles to the Society's newsletters, quarterlies, journals, and special publications.

Sponsoring and/or supporting conferences in its early years added significantly to the Department's visibility and prestige. For example, in the fall of 1963, the first Great Lakes Archaeological Conference met in Winnipeg, with the University acting as host institution. Seven provinces and states were represented by a total of 31 archaeologists (Anonymous 1964).

In 1966, the National Research Council supported our successful multi-disciplinary conference on the Glacial Lake Agassiz region (Mayer-Oakes 1967). This support and activity preceded the establishment in 1967 of an Associate (NRC) Committee on Quaternary Research, to be the Canadian link with the International Quaternary Association (INQUA). William E. Taylor, George F. MacDonald, and Mayer-Oakes served as the archaeologists on this committee in the 1960s.

Growth of the long-range historic site work at Lower Fort Garry culminated in the sponsorship of the Fur Trade Conference in Winnipeg in 1968 by a consortium of professional and avocational interests. Also in 1968, the found-

ing and organizational meeting of the Canadian Archaeological Association was hosted by the U of M Department of Anthropology. And finally, the first-ever Plains Anthropological Conference meeting in Canada took place in Winnipeg in 1971, sponsored and supported by a collective of institutional, student, and avocational interests.

Students' Initiatives

The Manitoba Anthropology Students' Association (MASA) was established in the early '70s at the U of M. One of its most substantial and enduring "products" is the *MASA Journal*, first appearing in 1974. Publication in the *Journal* is open to past and present students of the three Manitoba universities, and it has proven to be a very effective outlet for student research in Manitoba archaeology (*e.g.*, Badertscher 1978; Bradford 1978; Flynn and Kogan 1991; Hart 1982; Leaden 1975).

The Legacy

Graduates who have taken up careers in the discipline have made major contributions to the development of Manitoba archaeology. Survey and salvage work inaugurated by faculty member Leo Pettipas in Riding Mountain National Park in the early 1970s (Jamieson 1974) was expanded in the 1980s by Parks Canada, which by then possessed its own cadre of regional archaeologists. Many are graduates of the Department.

The archaeological programme at Brandon University, and the Archaeological Society of Southwestern Manitoba (ASSM) and its journal *Archae-Facts*, were all initiated by E. Leigh Syms, a U of M graduate. Leo Pettipas, the first full-time provincial archaeologist in Manitoba, took up the post in late 1974. Pettipas established a vigorous publications programme comprising several series: *Miscellaneous Papers*, *Preliminary Reports*, *Final Reports* and *Popular Series*. Two U of M Master's theses (Haug 1981; Snortland-Coles 1979b) were published in these series. Pettipas was also instrumental in drafting *The Heritage Resources Act* of 1985. Most of the staff archaeologists serving in the Archaeology Section of the Historic Resources Branch (HRB), Manitoba Culture, Heritage and Citizenship, have been either U of M graduates or have taken courses of instruction in the Department. The majority of those hired as summer fieldworkers and crew chiefs on HRB projects have been U of M graduates and students.

Both individuals to hold the position of Curator of Archaeology at the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature since its opening in 1970 — originally Ron Nash and now E. Leigh Syms — are U of M graduates. Sid Kroker, another U of M grad, has served as past Director of The Forks Public Archaeology Program and as Site Archaeologist for The Forks Renewal Corporation (now The Forks North Portage Partnership), the organization charged with redeveloping the CN East Yards in downtown Winnipeg. Peter Walker, a graduate of the Department's programme, has since 1979 produced the award-winning public-access television programme "Archaeology in Manitoba: A Far But Not Distant Land," sponsored by the Manitoba Archaeological Society. Past and present U of M students and staff have been frequent guests on the programme.

Graduates with a specialization in archaeology are to be found in many provinces and states, and it would be a major task to track them all down and name them here. But to offer some examples, most of the Parks Canada Prairie Region permanent and term staff are U of M undergraduate or graduate programme alumni. U of M graduates also hold senior positions in other jurisdictions, *e.g.*, Martin Magne at the Archaeological Survey of Alberta and later with the Department of Canadian Heritage-Parks (Pacific Region); Ellen Lee and Caroline Phillips with Canadian Heritage-Parks in Ottawa; Gary Dickson with the Historic Resources Branch of the Manitoba government; and David Pokotylo with the Department of Anthropology and Sociology at the University of British Columbia. Many of the Department's graduates (*e.g.*, Rebecca Balcom, Ann Balmer, Sid Kroker, Linda Larcombe, Virginia Petch, Leo Pettipas, Linda Roberts) are in the consulting/CRM field both in Manitoba and elsewhere.

In 1988, the Province established the Prix Manitoba Awards, which are presented annu-

ally to individuals and/or organizations who have made significant and lasting contributions in the areas of art, heritage, recreation and multiculturalism in Manitoba. In seven of the 10 years since its introduction, an archaeologist has won a Prix Manitoba Award. Six of those seven individuals are graduates of the University of Manitoba's Department of Anthropology.

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Part Three: Regions

Overleaf

The Eisenhauer shell-heap, Lunenburg County, Nova Scotia, in a view taken by the director of the excavation, W.J. Wintemberg, on 17 September 1913. At that time, Wintemberg was working as an archaeologist for the Anthropology Division of the Geological Survey of Canada.

Canadian Museum of Civilization photograph no. 25018.

Chapter 12

History of Archaeology in Nova Scotia

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Abstract
The development of any discipline follows a pattern no matter where its origins — this is true for the growth of archaeology in Nova Scotia. Its early years were dependent upon the interest and dedication of a few part-time practitioners. Their efforts, especially in promoting their discoveries throughout the scientific community, heightened awareness of the culture history of Nova Scotia. The modern era began with requests made by an avocationalist to professional archaeologists to excavate the Debert Palaeo-Indian site. This event set the stage for the emergence of the discipline into its present forms; academic, governmental, contractual, and educational.

Résumé
Toute discipline suit un pattern de développement peu importe son point d'origine et ceci s'applique à l'archeologie en Nouvelle-Ecosse. Les premières années ont été le fruit de l'interêt et du dévouement de quelques dilettantes se consacrant à leur passion à temps partiel. Leurs efforts, entre autres à promouvoir leurs découvertes dans la communauté scientifique, ont permis d'améliorer la connaissance de l'histoire culturelle de la Nouvelle-Ecosse. L'ère moderne a debuté avec les contacts établis par un amateur avec des archéologues professionnels afin de fouiller le site paléo-indien Debert. C'est alors que la discipline a émergé sous ses formes actuelles: académique, governementale, contractuelle et éducative.

Bringing Back the Past: Historical Perspectives on Canadian Archaeology, edited by P.J. Smith and D. Mitchell.
Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, Archaeological Survey of Canada, Mercury Series No. 158, 1998:153–162

To gain an appreciation for contemporary works it is necessary to review the efforts that came before. This is essential to demonstrate both the strengths and weaknesses inherent in making archaeological reconstructions within a defined study area. This historical overview is selective in focusing primarily on individuals who have worked in Nova Scotia; a number of works are also mentioned from other areas in the Maritimes. It should also be noted that it is not a complete historical overview of the discipline. For additional information the reader is directed to the references at the end of this paper.

The Early Years

The history of archaeological enquiry within the Maritime Provinces of Canada can be traced back to over 150 years ago. The pioneering efforts centred around the members of two societies, the Nova Scotia Institute of Science and the Natural History Society of New Brunswick. The membership of these societies was mostly professional men who were able to devote time and funds to pursue topics within a science of their interest. For the most part this interest was not an "amateur" dabbling, but rather many technical and innovative ideas were developed especially in the fields of botany, geology, ethnology and archaeology. The research performed went beyond a local exchange of information with the society's members giving lectures and publishing in journals outside of the region and country. However, the most consistent vehicles for their contributions appear as

the journals for the societies. They are represented by the *Proceedings and Transactions of the Nova Scotian Institute of Science* and the *Bulletin of the Natural History Society of New Brunswick*.

The exact founding date for each society is difficult to establish, as each had its start with informal meetings by its membership. The Nova Scotia group developed from an earlier society known as the Halifax Mechanic's Institute which in 1831 was modelled after the Mechanic's Institute of Glasgow, Scotland, founded in 1823. The Halifax Mechanic's Institute maintained a museum and library in Halifax for 30 years and participated in the 1862 International Exhibition in London. The effort of assembling a natural history display seems to have accelerated the need for a permanent organization. Thus in December of 1862 a charter was drawn which formalized the Nova Scotian Institute of Natural Science.

The word "Natural" was removed from the title in 1890 to broaden the scope of the society. The by-laws established in 1862 called for bimonthly meetings, four field trips per year and the publication of *Proceedings and Transactions* for the papers read by the members. A number of the charter members, notably J.M. Jones, the first chairman, Rev. John Ambrose, William Gossip and Bernard Gilpin all played dominant roles in the development of archaeology in the province.

The success of the society in attracting members and their accumulation of data in the form of collections and library resources placed a financial burden on the organization. As a result, in 1900, the province of Nova Scotia assumed control of the collections and established a separate museum and library. An early curator of the museum was Harry Piers who could be considered the father of Nova Scotian archaeology.

The earliest series of articles dealing specifically with archaeology came from data gathered in Nova Scotia by the members of the Institute. There is first a letter from John M. Jones (1864), then president of the Nova Scotian Institute who reported on the activities of Reverend J. Ambrose. Reverend Ambrose had organized a field trip to excavate the kitchen middens found along the shores of St Margaret's Bay, Nova Scotia. This first effort was moderately successful, in that artifacts were found and an attempt was made to identify stratigraphy and activity areas such as hearths. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the venture was the apparent knowledge of other efforts being directed towards shell middens across the Atlantic. The letter made reference to Danish archaeological work tracing chronological events through the excavation of *kjoekkenmoedding*.

The link with the Old World is further exemplified by the publication of the second issue of the *Proceedings and Transactions of the Nova Scotian Institute of Science* in 1867. This volume contained an article by William Gossip (1867) which gave more details on the middens excavated at St Margaret's Bay as well as work conducted at other "heaps" at Cole Harbour. For its time the effort was progressive in that it went beyond mere description of artifacts and features. Gossip attempted to date the material by the presumed rate of organic decay, arriving at an age of between 600 at the oldest and 50 years as the most recent midden. He further speculated that for the more recent middens they reflected the settlement pattern of the historic Micmac.

These early efforts at reporting on archaeological work within Nova Scotia have a number of remarkable parallels with contemporary activities. As will be discussed, one of the dominant concerns of contemporary archaeologists is the loss of heritage resources through shoreline erosion. The other aspect that Gossip's work revealed was an early use of the direct historical approach. The use of ethnological data as a means of reconstructing the prehistoric past is a dominant theme throughout contemporary works.

The decade following these pioneering attempts witnessed a decline in fieldwork with more emphasis on the description of existing collections. An article by Bernard Gilpin was a second attempt to blend archaeological evidence with ethnohistorical writings. The report dealt with an ethnographic description of the Micmacs based on the writings of Marc Lescarbot. This section was followed by site descriptions, settlement patterns and discussions on "what remains our stone age men have left behind them" (Gilpin 1874). Besides his apparent knowledge of the archaeology of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, Gilpin used com-

parisons to discuss the relative lack of burial sites in contrast to large numbers found in New Jersey.

Comparisons also appeared in the appendix of a book by Sir John W. Dawson (1878). Dawson included a small section describing "Micmac Remains" in which he describes a bone harpoon as being similar to "Esquimaeux" [sic] and European types. He also compared ceramic fragments from Nova Scotia with vessels from outside of the area. He deduced from the poor quality of the local pottery that it could not have been manufactured by sedentary peoples utilizing agriculture as a subsistence base. This conclusion has been supported by contemporary archaeologists.

Dawson's interest in ceramics was echoed by two open letters which appeared in the 1879 edition of the *Proceedings and Transactions of the Nova Scotian Institute of Science*. The first letter, from the Reverend John Honeyman (1879), was a discussion of the ceramic pieces within the provincial collection. Again they were compared with similar specimens found in the Smithsonian collections.

The second letter, by Judge DesBrisay, reported on a collection he excavated from near Bridgewater, Nova Scotia. The description of the ceramic artifacts dealt with their manufacturing process and particularly the application of exterior designs. He properly identified the motifs as being derived from the use of a "tally stick" (dentate stamp) and "round stick" (cord-wrapped-stick). He further identified the process, "the aborigines had formed the designs on the pots by impressing grooved, rounded or pointed sticks in the wet clay before firing" (DesBrisay 1879:218). DesBrisay's keen insight helped to establish a more detailed descriptive approach to ceramics which previously tended to be labelled with adjectives such as "rude" or "coarse."

The first major publication to appear outside of North America was a joint effort by the Reverend George Patterson, a member of the Nova Scotian Institute of Science and Professor Duns, a member of the Society of Antiquarians of Scotland. Patterson sent a collection of lithic and copper artifacts along with a description of where they were found to Duns.

The article compared the collection with specimens from Europe and implied that man must have migrated from Europe to America during prehistoric times. The small numbers of copper specimens led to the conclusion that the Bronze Age was not to be found in this area of the New World (Duns 1880:176–80).

A series of articles describing unique archaeological finds appeared in a variety of publications. These included the description of a stone sculpture from New Brunswick (Matthew 1883), an informative paper dealing with outstanding sites and artifacts from Nova Scotia (Patterson 1883), a similar discussion for New Brunswick (Bailey 1883) and a description of a bas-relief carving from Lake Utopia, New Brunswick (Jack 1883).

In the twenty years that have been discussed to date, most of the articles and letters involved descriptions of existing collections with minimal excavation. This changed with a publication in 1884 by George F. Matthew, the president of the Natural History Society of New Brunswick and curator of the provincial museum. He organized and directed the excavation of a shell midden near Bocabec, New Brunswick. This effort, although it is outside of the study area, is worth mentioning as it is a classic example of a multidisciplinary approach, which was not only problem oriented but exemplified a high degree of professionalism in archaeological techniques and analysis. Indeed, the techniques of excavation and the subsequent analysis would be acceptable to present day archaeologists.

Matthews, during the excavation, kept careful records of all finds including the distribution of artifacts and features. This allowed him to recognize two distinct occupations; he was able to identify house floors and to correlate their assemblages. He also used the expertise of specialists to identify the different lithic types used as well as to identify the species from which bone tools were manufactured. This report has stood the test of time and is still extensively quoted by contemporary archaeologists.

Unfortunately, the work of Matthew stands alone and did not generate similar efforts by others. Instead, reports on archaeological data

reverted to the previous form of descriptive narratives of artifacts and unusual finds. Typical of these and perhaps the reason that Matthew's work did not gain a great deal of recognition was an article that appeared in the same year. This controversial paper, entitled "On a Supposed Runic Inscription at Yarmouth, Nova Scotia," dealt with a carved inscription on a large boulder which had been discovered in the late 18th century (Phillips 1884). The appearance of the article and its interpretation as Norse runes sparked a debate which continued for ten years and generated considerable copy.

Although the "Norse debate" held the attention of the public, other works were published including a classification system proposed by Bailey (1883) for cultural material in New Brunswick. This system was adopted, with modifications, for the collections in Nova Scotia. Harry Piers (1890) used a classification system based on the material of manufacture as its primary sorting criterion with subdivisions being formed on dimensions and shapes of different artifact types. In effect, he was using a rudimentary type of attribute description.

From this early effort Piers continued his system, extending it to include privately held collections. This led to his article entitled "Relics of the Stone Age in Nova Scotia" (Piers 1895). The paper went beyond mere description of the local pieces and included comparative attribute data drawn from collections in the United States, Upper Canada and the Arctic.

Archaeology in the Maritimes had a bright beginning at the start of a new century with established classification systems proposed by Bailey and Piers and Matthew's attempt at developing theoretical models. However, this interlude was short-lived, and for no apparent reason publications turned back to the descriptive format. There was also a shift towards the early historic period, notably papers dealing with the adoption of European items by the native peoples of the Maritimes.

By the end of the first decade of the 20th century interest in archaeology was declining in the Maritime provinces. Perhaps it is fitting that the final substantive paper by a member of the Nova Scotia society was written by Harry Piers (1915). The work incorporated archaeology, history and ethnology to profile the aboriginal inhabitants of Nova Scotia.

From various lines of reasoning, Piers arrived at a number of conclusions. On the basis of the paucity of artifacts in comparison with other areas of North America, he suggested that the aboriginal inhabitants had not been in the province for a long time before the coming of the "whiteman." His most startling conclusion, based upon the way tools were fastened to handles in Nova Scotia compared with that used in New England and the Arctic, was that the aboriginal inhabitants were in fact Eskimo. He hypothesized that the Eskimo had been driven from the region by invading Algonkian tribes before the arrival of Europeans.

Although archaeology declined within the fabric of the provincial society it did not die out altogether. The National Museum of Canada sponsored excavations by Harlan I. Smith and William J. Wintemberg in Nova Scotia in 1914 at Mahone Bay and Merigomish Harbour. The work culminated in the publication of a single volume (Smith and Wintemberg 1929). This represents the first excavations financed from outside of the province and conducted by professional full-time archaeologists. It thus ends the era of local amateur activities and the dominance by members of the Nova Scotian Institute of Science.

The onset of World War I ended all archaeological activities within the province. Indeed, with very few exceptions, the area was ignored until the mid 1950s. The one notable exception was Frank Speck's (1924) short descriptive article on incised slate artifacts recovered in Nova Scotia.

The renewal of archaeological interest begins in 1955. Russell Harper was contracted to conduct excavations around an historic blockhouse at Portland Point, Saint John, New Brunswick. Although the initial focus was to research the historic significance of the fort, Harper's excavations uncovered prehistoric artifacts and features including graves (Harper 1956).

The publicity given to Harper's work in New Brunswick resulted in his being brought to Nova Scotia to investigate a series of graves uncovered by a backhoe operator in Pictou. Although he arrived too late to salvage the material *in situ*,

Figure 1. George and Joanne MacDonald excavating in 1963 at the Palaeo-Indian Debert site in central Nova Scotia. A fall or winter caribou-hunting station, the site was occupied about 8600 BC. Photograph no. S71-1917 by courtesy of the Canadian Museum of Civilization.

he was able to reconstruct the burials by examining the walls of the trench and through discussions with the property owner and workmen. From this sketchy data-base he published a short description of the graves and materials found (Harper 1959).

Archaeology in the region during the 19th century was dominated by amateurs associated with one of the provincial societies. Starting in 1957 a member of the Nova Scotia society again brought archaeology to the forefront. John Erskine was perhaps the most prolific writer and researcher in archaeology to come out of the society (Erskine 1959, 1960, 1969-1970). From 1957 to 1964 he wrote an annual series entitled "Micmac Notes" for the Nova Scotia Museum. For over two decades he travelled throughout Nova Scotia recording and excavating prehistoric sites. His intense interest and his ability to communicate his finds to the general public generated a renewed interest in the discipline. The high profile he maintained and his honorific title of provincial archaeologist for Nova Scotia, led to his being contacted whenever a find was made. The one instance that signalled the beginning of the modern era of archaeology in the Maritimes resulted from just such a contact.

The Debert Palaeo-Indian site was first discovered in 1948 by E.S. Eaton who was picking blueberries on an abandoned section of the Debert military base. Eaton was an amateur collector who found a small quantity of artifacts at this location. In 1958 he sold his collection to W.A. Dennis, who willed these specimens, along with others, to Mount St Vincent University in Halifax. The existence of the collection and a short note published by Dennis (1962) prompted Erskine to relocate the site with the assistance of Eaton.

Erskine recognized the importance of the site and solicited the involvement of professionals. Douglas Byers, Director of the Robert S. Peabody Foundation for Archaeology, Andover, Massachusetts, and Richard S. MacNeish, Chief Archaeologist, National Museum of Canada were contacted and conducted test excavations in the fall of 1962. They located undisturbed sections of the site and drew up plans for full-scale excavations for the summer of 1963 with continuance the following summer.

It could be said that the Debert excavations represent a turning point in the history of archaeological endeavours within Nova Scotia. The planning and execution of the project included a multidisciplinary approach with the palaeogeography researched by Harold Borns, Jr (1966), and extensive radiocarbon analysis conducted by Robert Stuckenrath (1966). The detailed artifact analysis and site report were published by George MacDonald (1968).

Archaeology Comes of Age

The 1970s witnessed the complete revival of archaeological enquiry within the region. The focus once again turned to coastal habitation sites, mainly in New Brunswick. In this decade, a major project was initiated by David Sanger of the Archaeological Survey of Canada for the Passamaquoddy Bay area in New Brunswick. This project stimulated publications, manuscript reports, and theses dealing with various aspects of the cultural history of the area, all of which are listed in Sanger 1987.

The Passamaquoddy Bay project and excavations at other sites within New Brunswick, notably the Cow Point Site (Sanger 1973), were partially responsible for the formation of an office of Provincial Archaeologist for New Brunswick. With the advent of this provincial authority, archaeology in the region began to take on more direction and organization. Under the guidance of the New Brunswick office an interprovincial committee was established to co-ordinate activities and resources throughout the three Maritime Provinces. The first priority of the committee was to commission studies on the effects that shoreline erosion had on heritage resources along the coasts of the Maritimes. These studies looked at the causes of erosion and actual field surveys were conducted to investigate the degree of damage done by the natural phenomena (Simonsen 1979).

Although the Archaeology Branch of the New Brunswick Department of Historical Resources can be given credit for providing the impetus for much of the contemporary work in the Maritimes, Nova Scotia was also actively involved in a variety of projects. The Nova Scotia Museum established the position of Curator of Archaeology in 1968, the Department of Anthropology at Saint Mary's University and The Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Saint Francis Xavier University added archaeologists to their programmes in 1973 and 1975 respectively. The other major event that has contributed substantially to our understanding of the archaeological heritage of the province was the decentralization of Parks Canada. The establishment of a regional office in Halifax in 1979, with jurisdiction throughout Atlantic Canada, has led to numerous projects in Nova Scotia as well as the other provinces.

The Curator of Archaeology of the Nova Scotia Museum, Brian Preston, has conducted a number of surveys in the province. The first major effort in the early '70s was directed at the Shubenacadie River system where over 50 prehistoric sites were recorded (Preston 1974). The initial survey work was followed by selective testing at a number of the more promising locations (Preston 1974). In the years following, the "Shubie project" the Museum's focus shifted to the historic period, notably the Acadian sites in the Annapolis Valley and Minas Basin (Preston 1975).

The initial efforts in Acadian research in the Annapolis Valley by Preston were followed by extensive excavations by David Christianson (1984) at Bellisle. The Museum has also co-sponsored many of the projects which were undertaken by the archaeology laboratory at Saint Mary's University. The museum funded and provided support to Helen Sheldon (1988) for the excavation of the Brown site at the Head of Jeddore.

The position established at Saint Francis Xavier University went to Dr Ronald Nash. In the mid seventies and extending into the early eighties he conducted surveys and excavations

on the Island of Cape Breton. His first major project involved an extensive survey of the area to be impacted by the Wreck Cove hydro project. This led to the excavation of the multi-component Geganis site on Ingonish Island (Nash 1976). Data gathered from this site along with the excavation of the Delory Island site and surveys of Cape Breton Island and Antigonish Harbour, led to a number of works detailing the prehistory and the cultural ecology of this portion of Nova Scotia (Nash 1978, 1980, 1983). The interpretations of the economic patterns were aided by the analysis of the animal remains done by Francis Stewart (1980), University of New Brunswick. The most recent project, to come out of Saint Francis Xavier, was the excavation of the Melanson site in the Gaspereau Valley near Wolfville.

The Archaeology laboratory at Saint Mary's University was established in 1976 as a component of the Department of Anthropology. In the three years previous to the establishment of the laboratory, the University had conducted surveys and excavations on the Canso Straits, the Shubenacadie River and Bear River (Davis 1974a, 1974b; Connolly 1977). The first major project to follow the establishment of the lab was centred on the recording and excavating of sites on St Margarets Bay and Rafter Lake (Davis 1977).

As noted, a concern for eroding sites along the coastline of the Maritime Provinces dictated that the professional community take action. The Council of Maritime Premiers established a committee to oversee and direct research towards this problem. The archaeology laboratory at Saint Mary's undertook a number of projects throughout the three Maritime Provinces (Davis 1983). The erosion studies were followed by two major projects involving Historic Sites. The first was the salvage of the Central Trust site in downtown Halifax (Davis *et al.* 1987). The second was the survey and excavation of sites within the Shubenacadie Canal Redevelopment Zones (Russell *et al.* 1985).

The most recent activities of the laboratory have refocused on prehistoric sites. These included the salvage of the McGowan Lake sites (Davis 1985) and Indian Gardens (Deal 1987). These salvage operations were the outcome of the lowering of water levels to facilitate the repair of dams on their respective water systems. A rather important find also resulted from construction activities. The construction of an access road to a new subdivision near White's Lake exposed a burial site which dates back some 2300 years (Davis 1987a, b).

The most recent project credited to the laboratory is a co-operative effort with the University of Maine. It involved a preliminary survey of the south-eastern portion of Nova Scotia centred in the Yarmouth area. The work resulted in the recording of 46 sites ranging in age from late Palaeo-Indian times through to historic contact (Davis and Sanger 1991).

Parks Canada (now known as The Canadian Parks Service), established a regional office in Halifax in 1979. The involvement of this agency in our understanding of the later prehistory of the province has focused on the heritage resources found in Kejimkujik National Park. In the early '70s, Brad Myers, a graduate student at Trent University, conducted a number of surveys in the Park. The primary objective was to record the petroglyph locations. However, he also found and tested a number of habitation sites (Myers 1972, 1973). The petroglyph sites also received the attention of Brian Molyneau (1980). The most recent activities have centred on the excavation of a ceramic component site known as the Eel Weir.

The 1980s witnessed the continuance of research with the now well-established centres. The Canadian Parks Service conducted major excavations throughout its mandated area; Louisbourg, the Halifax defence complex, Port Royal, the Melansen Village, Grassy Island and Kejimikujik National Park all received attention.

The Modern Era

The start of the 1980s signalled a new and important role for the Nova Scotia Museum. The long-awaited heritage protection act passed through the legislative process [*An Act to Provide for the Preservation, Regulation and Study of Archaeological and Historical Remains and Palaeontological and Ecological Sites* (Assented to the 5th day of June, AD 1980)]. With a structured permit system and increased activities the Museum obtained the services of Robert Ogilvie

as curator of Special Places. Through the efforts of Ogilvie and Brian Preston the museum began hosting an annual workshop in archaeology. Invitations were extended to all individuals who held permits during the previous year. The agenda for the first meeting included the topic of communication with the public. After discussions an editorial board was established which has led to the publication of annual curatorial reports titled *Archaeology in Nova Scotia*.

The workshops continue with discussions ranging from local to national issues. Various committee's have been formed to deal with public archaeology, guidelines for conducting archaeology in Nova Scotia, record-keeping, site-significance evaluation, aboriginal heritage, provincial site inventories, collections management, and federal heritage legislation.

The later half of the decade bore witness to major changes in the archaeology community. On March 3, 1987, the first meeting of the newly constituted Nova Scotia Archaeology Society was held at Saint Mary's University. The interest in avocational archaeology was readily apparent with 60 individuals in attendance. The society continues with an active membership of approximately 100 individuals ranging from school children to professionals.

The enactment of the Special Places Protection Act combined with the addition of cultural resources as a concern in provincial and federal environment acts led to the birth of contract archaeology. The province now has two full-time contract archaeologists; Callum Thomson with Jacques Whitford Environment Limited and Bruce Stewart of Porter Dillon Limited. In addition, there are now an increasing number of part-time practitioners involved in this type of archaeology. The heightened awareness for heritage site protection within Nova Scotia can be exemplified by the types of permits issued in the period 1990 to 1994 — of the 102 granted, 74 were for cultural resource assessments with only 28 research oriented.

The historical background for archaeology presented in this paper could lead to the conclusion that a great deal is known about the prehistoric past of the province. Although we have a general understanding of events, there still remain many gaps in our knowledge. It is also a fact that archaeologists seldom agree on interpretations. As a result of more data being accumulated, various debates, problems and issues arise which will need to be addressed in the future. However, it should be clear from the preceding pages that there is an active and dedicated community of professionals trying to unravel the events of the past. Furthermore, their efforts have raised the public awareness of the archaeological heritage of the Maritimes. Thus, after one hundred and fifty years, the discipline of archaeology, which played a minor role in the activities of the Halifax Mechanic's Institute, has now become a major concern of governments, and academic, avocational and contract archaeologists.

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Chapter 13

Bits and Pieces, Glimpses and Glances: A Retrospect on Prehistoric Research in Quebec

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Québec, Québec

Abstract
Until well into the 19th century, information about the prehistory of Quebec was restricted to fortuitous finds which were not subjected to any follow-up investigation. From 1859 onward, more substantial records began to be kept by dedicated amateurs. The first extensive survey and excavation efforts were undertaken during the 1920s and 1930s by William John Wintemberg, a researcher associated with the National Museum of Man, in Ottawa. For several ensuing decades, additional work continued to be done by representatives from other outside institutions. Not until the 1960s did a professional archaeology develop locally in Quebec. Several universities initiated academic training programmes and research projects, while the Ministère des Affaires culturelles implemented legislation to ensure cultural heritage conservation and management. This included a permit system, a site registry, and annual government funding for field projects, publications, and Native involvement in exploring their own past. The Environmental Quality and Urban Development Acts of the late 1970s have contributed additional effective measures towards the protection of archaeological resources. The vast James Bay hydro-electric scheme, launched in 1972, led to large-scale salvage operations which had a marked impact on the growth of Quebec archaeology in terms of student training, innovations in field techniques, and the creation of consultant firms. In recent years, local prehistorians have begun to focus on appropriate means for reaching a broader segment of the general public through a wider diffusion of archaeological data, and by offering more opportunities for participation in field activities. Like everyone else, Quebec archaeologists have been affected by the present economic upheaval and must now learn to cope with this new reality.

Résumé
Jusqu'à une période avancée du XIXe siècle, les informations sur la préhistoire du Québec provenaient uniquement de découvertes fortuites qui n'étaient suivies d'aucune investigation poussée. Mais dès 1859, des amateurs consciencieux commencèrent à rédiger des notes plus substantielles à propos de leurs trouvailles. C'est toutefois à un chercheur associé au Musée national de l'Homme d'Ottawa, William John Wintemberg, que l'on doit les premiers véritables efforts en matière de reconnaissance et de fouille archéologique au Québec, au cours des années 1920 et 1930. Durant les décennies qui suivirent, d'autres travaux archéologiques furent entrepris, mais toujours par des chercheurs rattachés à des institutions de l'extérieur. Ce n'est que dans les années 1960 qu'une archéologie profesionnelle se développa en milieu québécois: les universités mirent sur pied des programmes de formation et des projets de recherche pendant que le ministère des Affaires culturelles appliquait une législation garantissant la conservation et la mise en valeur du patrimoine culturel. La structure de fonctionnement associée à cette législation incluait un système de permis archéologique, un registre des sites identifiés et des programmes annuels de subvention pour la tenue de projets archéologiques, la publication, et l'implication des communautés autochtones dans l'étude de leur propre histoire. La Loi sur la qualité de l'environnement et celle sur le développement urbain, qui furent promulguées à la fin des années 1970, ajoutèrent d'autres mesures

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permettant de protéger les ressources archéologiques. Le vaste projet de développement hydro-électrique de la Baie James, amorcé en 1972, conduisit à des opérations de grande envergure ayant pour but le sauvetage des vestiges archéologiques de cette région; ce projet eut un impact majeur sur l'expansion de l'archéologie au Québec, en particulier sur la formation des étudiants, sur les innovations dans les méthodes de terrain et sur la création de firmes de consultants. Plus récemment, les préhistoriens québécois ont commencé à concentrer leurs efforts vers une meilleure diffusion des résultats de leurs recherches auprès d'un public élargi et vers une plus forte participation de ce public aux activités de terrain. Les archéologues québécois, comme tout le monde, ont été affectés par le contexte économique difficile des dernières années et doivent maintenant apprendre à faire face à cette nouvelle réalité.

There exist well over two thousand monographs, field reports and articles devoted to the subject of Quebec prehistory. The majority of these have been alphabetically and thematically indexed in a bibliography compiled by Corbeil (1996). They include at least one hundred publications which deal with the history of how this discipline developed in a regional context.[1] The appended bibliography offers a selection of those pertinent references, but it should be noted that not all of them are necessarily cited in the text. The reader interested in a more detailed treatment of the subject will have to rely on individual titles as a guide.

A collaborative effort by several authors would be required to provide a comprehensive overview of prehistory studies carried out in Quebec. Multiple perspectives exist, each one of which merits consideration. These encompass points of view reflecting the outlook of professionals, amateurs, government organizations, consultant firms, promoters, universities, native communities, municipalities and museums, not to mention the general (tax-paying) public. As such, the present contribution must be understood as only representing the truncated vision of a single observer, limited furthermore by space restrictions. A broader scope, a better balanced account and a more in-depth quantitative treatment will have to await a later opportunity. A zestful backflip exercise for the 21st century!

1. See Corbeil (1996:68). This is a revised version of a bibliography first published in Balac *et al.* (1995:439–95).

A Promising Start, but . . .

For several decades after Jacques Cartier's last voyage up the St Lawrence River in 1541–2, no Europeans returned to this region. Disputes subsequently arose about exactly where the explorer had overwintered when he first arrived at Stadacona (Quebec City), and an attempt was made at the beginning of the 17th century to settle this question. As a result, problem-oriented archaeology had an early start in Quebec, and for that matter Canada, only to fall promptly into neglect for more than three centuries. It all began and ended with Samuel de Champlain in 1608, when he recorded (Biggar 1922–36, II:36–7) how

> Nearer Quebec there is a little river [St Charles], which comes from a lake in the interior, distant six or seven leagues from our settlement. I consider that in this river . . . was the place where Jacques Cartier passed the winter; since at a league's distance up this river are still the remains as of a chimney, whose foundation we discovered, and to all appearance what seem to have been ditches about his house, which was small. We found also large, squared, worm-eaten pieces of wood, and some three or four cannon-balls.

Without perhaps being aware of it, Champlain's men also dug through an ancient Amerindian campsite while constructing his trading post at Place Royale in Quebec City that same year, a fact which archaeologists only determined some 370 years later (Clermont *et al.* 1992).[2]

2. As well, in 1626, when Champlain had a small farm built at cap Tourmente, downriver from Quebec City, his workers dug through the remains of an Iroquoian longhouse (Guimont 1996:19–29). The notorious search for his tomb has gained Champlain additional archaeological fame (*cf.* Levesque 1992).

Fortuitous Finds

From Champlain's time on until the 19th century various fortuitous finds of prehistoric remains were made, including assorted stone implements and traces of ancient native villages in the St Lawrence valley which some early writers associated with the St Lawrence Iroquoians who had mysteriously disappeared prior to 1600.[3] On none of those occasions, however, did follow-up investigations take place. Besides, prior to the late 1700s local publication opportunities were non-existent due to an absence of printing presses. As one scholar has remarked, archaeological discoveries remained "unconnected happenings of no lasting value" (Clermont n.d:2). In at least one instance, however, the recent relocation of a pictograph site indicated on a 1733 map by the Jesuit missionary, Pierre-Michel Laure (Figure 1), has led to a renewed interest in Quebec rock art studies, commencing with the recording of the Nisula site and the implementation of a multidisciplinary research programme (Arsenault *et al.* 1995).

Given that professional archaeology in Quebec only began to develop locally during the 1960s, we may well ask why it took this discipline so long to evolve here. Several reasons can be adduced. One of them was certainly the absence of spectacular prehistoric remains, such as large temple structures, burial mounds or fortified cities, which so captured the public imagination in other parts of North, Central and South America. In addition, having come under British domination, and having been told by an English Lord in 1839 that they were a people devoid of history, lay as well as clerical members of Quebec's intellectual elite set themselves the task of substantiating and solidifying the historical reality and identity of their society. This involved the forging of an heroic self-image as a race of pioneer settlers who had emigrated to a New World and managed to overcome the dangers posed by its natural environment, including fiercely hostile elements among the native population. Inevitably, the latter often ended up being stereotyped as perfidious, pagan and essentially primitive beings.[4] Their aboriginal culture, their past, and hence their archaeological heritage were commonly treated with indifference. The principal concern was with Euro-Canadian achievements. Not surprisingly, when sustained Francophone interest in archaeology began to emerge during the first half of the 20th century, it focussed initially on historical sites pertaining to the French Regime (Picard 1979). As will be seen below, this situation changed during the 1960s when a process of transformation took place. Certain prejudices became a spent force and prehistoric sites began to attract increasing attention. Until that time this particular category of archaeological remains in Quebec had been primarily investigated by scholars associated with outside institutions who became repositories for the data as well as the collections. A reaction against this situation eventually set in, coupled with a determination to develop a regional expertise in the domain of prehistorical research.

Pioneering Efforts

During the second half of the 19th century, a few accidental discoveries were accorded more careful notice, including summary descriptions and even the use of illustrations. In 1859, for example, the principal of McGill University in Montreal, John William Dawson, published his observations on cultural material from an

3. See Clermont (1990, n.d.); Corbeil (1996); Martijn (1969, 1979); and Martijn and Cinq-Mars (1970). This early interest in Quebec Iroquois archaeology remains unabated today (Irobec 1993; Chapdelaine 1995).

4. See Martijn (1979). The often negative image of the Amerindian projected in the writings of Quebec historians and Quebec school manuals during the 19th and first half of the 20th century has been subjected to a trenchant analysis by several authors (Smith 1974; Vincent and Arcand 1979; Gagnon 1982; and Trigger 1985). However, as Smith (1996:123–4) drily notes, "English-speaking Canada was no better informed about Indians than French-Speaking Quebec . . . many English-speaking Canadians in the mid-twentieth century harboured great prejudices against the Aboriginal peoples . . . [and] English-speaking Canadian historians shared with their French-speaking counterparts great insensitivity toward, and ignorance of, Canada's Native peoples". These comments echo similar observations made by Vincent and Arcand (1979:320–21) and Trigger (1985:3-49).

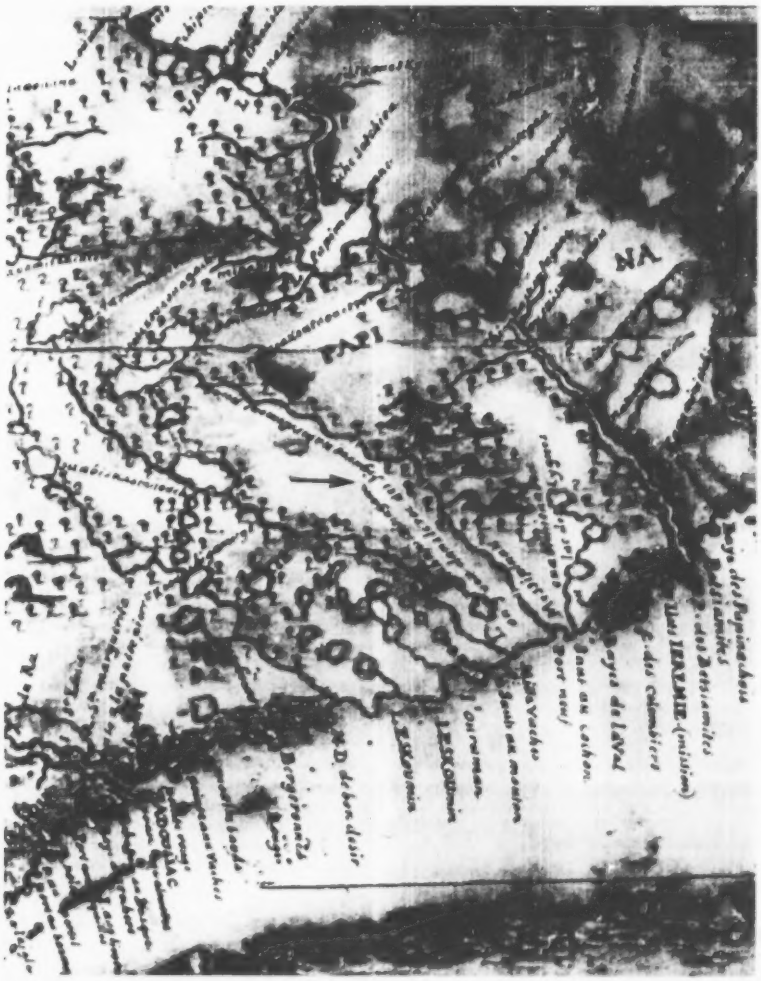

Figure 1. Extract from a 1733 map by the Jesuit missionary, Father Pierre-Michel Laure, entitled Carte du Domaine du Roy en Canada. *It shows a lake called Pepéchapissinagan, located south of the* Saut au Cochon *River on the Upper North Shore of the Gulf of St Lawrence, with an annotation in French stating that "one can see in the rock some naturally painted figures." The Montagnais name itself signifies "the rock feature on which there are paintings." It is the earliest known mention of a pictograph (rock art) site in Canada. This locality has been identified as the Nisula site (BeEh-1). (Laure and Guyot 1733; Arsenault* et al. *1995.) Photograph by Daniel Arsenault.*

Figure 2. The Quebec architect and amateur archaeologist, Aristide Beaugrand-Champagne, shown mapping the Lanoraie site (BlFh-1) in 1932. Photograph by Sybil Lighthall.

Iroquoian site unearthed by workmen near the campus.[5] Another Montrealer, a prominent lawyer named William Douw Lighthall, kept a record of other local finds, excavated a few prehistoric burials, and corresponded widely with Canadian and American colleagues. He also wrote the first monograph dealing with Quebec Iroquois prehistory, entitled *Prehistoric Montreal* which, unfortunately, never got into print.[6]

One of Lighthall's friends, the Montreal architect Aristide Beaugrand-Champagne (Figures 2 and 3), was also deeply interested in the Iroquois to whom he devoted several articles of an ethnographical and archaeological nature which ran counter to the prejudices of that day (Martijn 1979:8).

Another eminent figure of that period was William John Wintemberg, a self-taught archaeologist employed by the National Museum of Canada in Ottawa. During the nineteen twenties and thirties he travelled widely within the lower St Lawrence Valley, proceeding all the way down the North Shore as far as the Strait of Belle Isle, searching for Amerindian and Inuit

5. More than a century later, Dawson's data served as the basis for a publication by Pendergast and Trigger (1972). See also Trigger (1966, 1981:74–5).
6. See Clermont (1990:115–17); Lighthall (1929); and Martijn (1979:7).

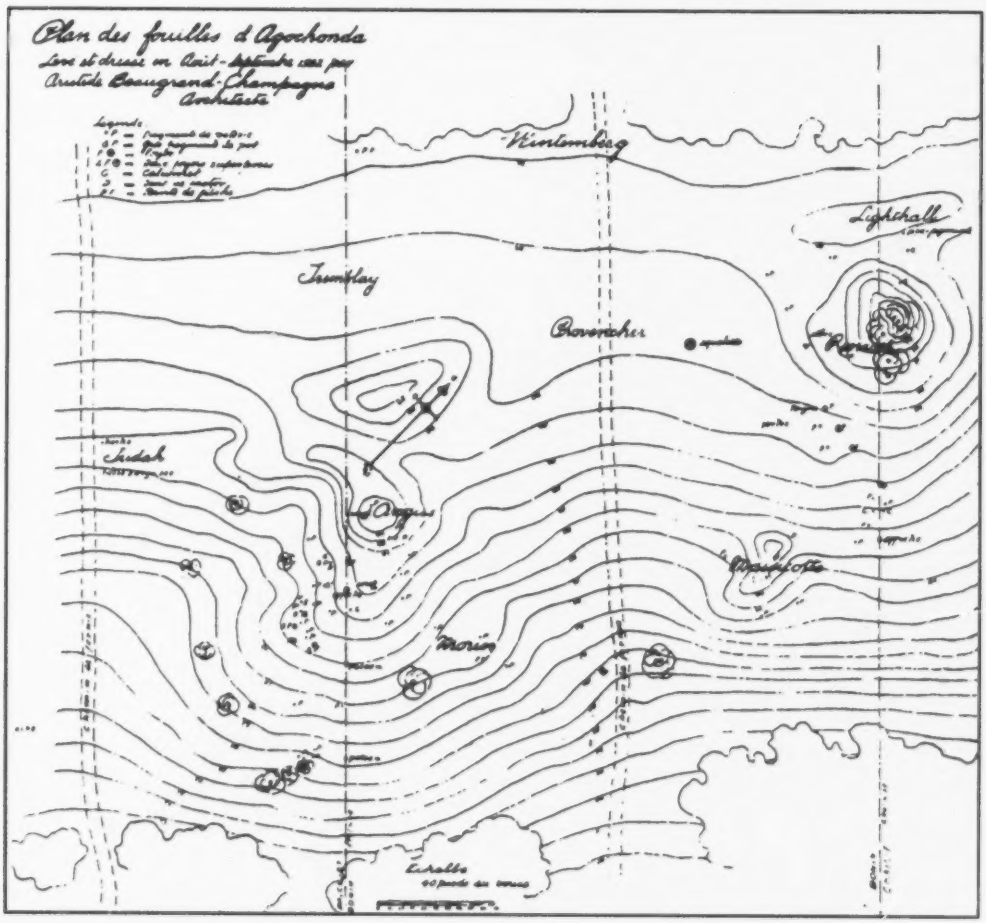

Figure 3. The 1933 map of the Lanoraie site (BlFh-1), identified here by the name Agochonda, drawn by the architect Aristide Beaugrand-Champagne. It is the first known site map made of a prehistoric locality in Quebec. He assigned some sections of it the names of prominent antiquarian figures from that era: Wintemberg, Lighthall, Morin, Massicotte, Angus, Provencher, etc. Photograph from Clermont et al. *1983:29.*

sites. He was the first researcher to provide an idea of the extent and variety of Quebec's prehistoric heritage, and the names of several localities which he investigated, such as Batiscan, Lanoraie, Tadoussac, Mingan, Kegashka, and Brador are now enshrined in the Northeastern archaeological literature.[7]

Throughout the first half of the 20th century all archaeological work of professional quality carried out in Quebec was done by the National Museum and various American and European institutions (Martijn and Cinq-Mars 1970:178–9; Cinq-Mars and Martijn 1981; and Richling 1995). Of particular note in regard to the latter were the epic canoe reconnaissance trips conducted in Central Quebec, after World War II, by Edward S. Rogers and his companions

7. See Jenness (1941); Martijn (1979, n.d.); and Trigger (1978, 1981:79–80).

(Rogers and Rogers 1948; Rogers and Bradley 1953).

Over time, the National Museum expanded its programme of activities in Quebec by according grants to local universities, amateur societies, and graduate students. In addition, various museum staff members served as resource persons, gave university seminars, and participated in conferences.[8] William E. Taylor, Jr, was a pioneer of Palaeo-Eskimo archaeology in Northern Quebec during the late 1950s (Taylor 1964; Morrison and Pilon 1994). Although he never undertook any fieldwork locally, James V. Wright made many positive contributions by way of discussions with Quebec prehistorians, university students and amateurs, and through his writings (Levesque, Osborne and Wright 1964; Wright 1979, 1994, 1995).

The 1950s witnessed a local renewal of interest in prehistory when Gordon Lowther, a geographer by profession with some training in prehistory, was appointed curator of archaeological collections at the McCord Museum of McGill University. He tutored students in archaeology and carried out several reconnaissance and excavation projects within Quebec. Amateur archaeology made a reappearance during the latter part of this decade with the founding of the *Archaeological Association of Quebec*, composed of both English- and French-speaking members. It was supplanted in the early 1960s by a string of regional Francophone societies located in southern Quebec, that extended as far east as the Lower North Shore of the Gulf of St Lawrence. Their creation owed much to the energetic, though often controversial, activities of René Levesque (1962). These amateur initiatives arose in response to an existing void which the academic world and the Quebec government had neglected to fill. At Trois-Rivières, René Ribes and Gilles Boulet founded the first regional museum of prehistory and the first archaeological journal, the *Cahiers d'archéologie québécoise*. Other avocational archaeologists such as Robert Cliche in l'Estrie (Eastern Townships), Gérard Michaud in the Bas-du-Fleuve area, abbé Roland Provost in the Gaspé Peninsula, abbé Robert Simard and J.-Henri Fortin in the Saguenay-lac-St-Jean region, Louis Gagnon at Grandes-Bergeronnes on the Upper North Shore, Leonard C. Clark on the Magdalen Islands, Joseph Berubé in the lac Abitibi district, and Valerie Burger on lakes Kempt and Manouane also played an expedient role in recording sites and salvaging data, primarily surface collections, which otherwise would have been lost.[9] The awakening spirit and inquiring mood of that decade is perhaps best exemplified by an article which a curious geologist, Jacques Béland, published in 1959 about his discovery of pictographic rock art and stone tools at locations on lac Wapizagonke, in the St Maurice River basin.[10]

Towards a Professional Perspective

The 1960s were a period of sociocultural and intellectual effervescence for Quebec, the so-called *Quiet Revolution*, a movement in which archaeology was also swept up. Within that decade the foundation was laid for a professional discipline, including both its prehistoric and historic branches. The challenge was and still remains an imposing one. The land surface of Quebec covers 1,540,680 square kilometres, which makes it slightly larger than Denmark, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Spain and

8. Aside from William Wintemberg, these museum staff members included Harlan I. Smith (who compiled the first archaeological bibliography of Quebec), Douglas Leechman, Jacques Rousseau, Thomas E. Lee, William E. Taylor, Jr, James V. Wright, David Sanger, Robert McGhee, Roger Marois, Jacques Cinq-Mars, Jean-Luc Pilon and Luc Nolin. Among other outside researchers there were T.W. Edwin Sowther, Frank G. Speck, Thomas Manning, Jean Michéa, Edward S. Rogers, Valerie Burger, and at a later date, Barry Matthews, Selwyn Dewdney, William W. Fitzhugh, William Fitzgerald, Elmer Harp, Jr, Bruce J. Jamieson, Clyde Kennedy, Alfred V. Kidder, Serge Lemaitre, Barry Mitchell, James F. Pendergast, Frank Ridley, Henry Stewart, James Tuck, Matthew Wallrath, and Gordon Watson. While not engaging in local fieldwork, William Fox has made it a point to maintain close links with his Quebec counterparts.

9. See Clermont, Chapdelaine and Ribes (1986); Fortin (1971); Levesque (1962, 1992); Martijn (1979); Martijn and Cinq-Mars (1970); Moreau (1994); Otis (1991); and Simard (1985).

10. A few years later, the arctic anthropologist Saladin d'Anglure (1963), discovered the first Dorset Palaeo-Eskimo petroglyphs on the island of Qajartalik, near Kangirsujuaq (Wakeham Bay).

Switzerland combined (*cf.* Clermont 1982:197). This vast territory covers a variety of ecological habitats which were initially populated by ancestral Algonquian, Iroquoian, Palaeo-Eskimo and Inuit groups who developed different adaptive strategies and models of social organization. Not surprisingly, the historical transformations of their societies were also divergent. Reassembling this gigantic prehistoric puzzle continues to be a complex undertaking. As Frank G. Speck remarked about the Quebec-Labrador peninsula in 1951, "no region of such size on the continent has been less explored." This was reiterated by James B. Griffin in 1964, when he indicated on a map accompanying one of his articles that most of Quebec possessed "no known [prehistoric] culture." Amends have since been made in the *Historical Atlas of Canada*, Volume I (Harris 1987), but this information is by now already outdated.

Three factors promoted the emergence of archaeology as a professional discipline during the Sixties. The first one was the formal implication of Quebec universities in the formation of qualified prehistorians. In 1961, the Université de Montréal instituted an anthropological training programme which, following the American academic model, included archaeology.[11] Similarly, in 1964, Bruce G. Trigger took up a teaching position at McGill University after the departure of Gordon Lowther. In addition, the Université Laval in Quebec City set up a *Centre d'Études Nordiques* which aimed, among other things, to explore the archaeology of Northern Quebec.[12] However, the interest of staff members in Montreal universities was directed to regions such as Central America, the Middle East and North Africa. In reaction to this situation, and imbibed with a desire to promote prehistoric research within Quebec itself, a trio of Université de Montréal graduate students, Serge-André Crête, Laurent Girouard, and Gérald McKenzie, founded the *SAPQ* (Société d'archéologie préhistorique du Québec) and undertook a series of excavation projects, notably at the Pointe-du-Buisson site (Girouard 1975). All these academic initiatives constituted a decisive second step. A third, equally crucial event, was the decision in 1961 by the Ministère des Affaires culturelles to create a Service d'archéologie, initially headed by Michel Gaumond (1961). This opened the way for future developments such as annual government funding, publication opportunities, heritage legislation and a province-wide archaeological site inventory and salvage programme. At a general meeting held on December 7th 1968 in Quebec City, all interested parties were convened by the Ministry to discuss the state of Quebec archaeology, to establish research and administrative policy guidelines, and to agree on the implementation of specific measures. For those who were involved, it closed a decade of heady beginnings and seminal endeavours.

The Explosive and Innovative Seventies

The 1970s were an exuberant Golden Age during which prehistory studies in Quebec grew at an exponential rate. The Ministère des Affaires culturelles hired new personnel and upgraded its Service d'archéologie et d'ethnologie which was subdivided into three sections: prehistoric archaeology, historic archaeology and native ethnology. Camil Guy, an anthropologist, became director. In the prehistory section, Georges Barré took charge of salvage operations, external coordination and publications; Charles A. Martijn oversaw research orientations and liaison with native cultural organizations; while Carole Thibault set up an archaeological site inventory which rapidly demonstrated its administrative and

11. Over the years, archaeological teaching staff at the Université de Montréal have included Paul Tolstoy, Gordon Lowther, Jacques Bordaz, Philip E.L. Smith, Norman Clermont, Louise Paradis, and Claude Chapdelaine.
12. Thomas E. Lee was employed by the CEN, for more than a decade to excavate prehistoric sites in Ungava, some of which he interpreted as being of Norse origin (*cf.* Lee 1968). He produced the first extensive monographs dealing with Quebec prehistory. During the period 1967–70, Patrick Plumet was funded by the CEN to do survey work in Ungava Bay and Hudson Strait. The CEN also provided financial and publication support for the Mistassini-Albanel expedition of 1963 (Martijn and Rogers 1969). At a later date, Gilles Samson (1978, 1981), while associated with the CEN, undertook an extensive archaeological programme in the lac Mishuau-nipi (Indian House Lake) region of Northern Quebec.

scientific utility.[13] The *Loi des Biens Culturels (Cultural Properties Act)* was also passed by the Quebec Government in 1972. Among other things it made archaeological permits obligatory, and required permit holders to submit an annual report to the Ministry. This provides a measure of regulatory control over the quality of fieldwork being carried out. Insofar as the overall management of cultural resources is concerned, however, other legislation has turned out to be much more effective in assuring salvage mitigation and preventive measures of protection. This applies in particular to the *Environmental Quality Act* (1978) which included archaeology as a component of impact studies, and to a lesser extent the *Urban Development Act* (1979) which requires municipalities to delimit and to take into consideration all cultural resources when drawing up their development schemes.[14] Interministerial agreements were also concluded in order to assure the conservation of sites and of artifact collections found on crown (public) lands.

The gigantic James Bay hydro-electric development programme, announced in 1972, was to exercise a profound impact on Quebec archaeology and merits an historical study by itself. A great many Quebec archaeologists working today, of both genders, acquired their first field experience up there. The Service d'archéologie et d'ethnologie immediately initiated large scale reconnaissance projects in the extensive areas which were to be flooded.[15] It soon became apparent, however, that the needs far outstripped its financial means and administrative resources. No infrastructure existed to cope efficiently with problems of inter-organizational liaison, logistics, and qualified supervision in the field. Adequate survey methodology in a boreal forest environment had to be formulated through trial and error. Inevitably, new partners, Hydro-Québec and the SEBJ (Société d'Énergie de la Baie James), became involved to assume more of the cost burden and to execute overall planning.[16]

Elsewhere, urban archaeology, different types of impact studies and municipal management schemes offered additional openings. A growing number of graduate students saw an opportunity to make a living as professional archaeologists doing contract archaeology, or by offering their services as specialists from associated disciplines. Consultants firms were incorporated for the first time, including Archéotec, Arkéos, Cerane, Ethnoscop and several others.[17] They put into application new approaches in survey techniques such as potential studies,[18] and introduced more refined data registration techniques. They also learned how to function within contemporary bureaucracies of every description. A new generation of prehistorians, pioneers in their own right, thus made its appearance on the scene to cope with a different reality.

Quebec universities did not become formally involved in the James Bay mega-projects or with environmental impact studies. They did train

13. In addition to Gaumond, Barré, Martijn, and Thibault, other archaeologists employed at the former Ministère des Affaires culturelles have been: Gilles Samson, Anne-Marie Balac, Pierre Desrosiers, and Bernard Hébert in the domain of prehistory; and Monique Barriault, Corneliu Kirjan, Yves Lebel, and Claire Mousseau in the realm of historical archaeology. Balac, Desrosiers, Kirjan, Lebel, Mousseau, and Samson were instrumental in developing prehistory research at a local level subsequent to the regionalization of the Ministry. They were ably assisted in this task by several other Ministry representatives, notably Jean-René Breton, Eucharist Morin, and Jean-Charles Lefebvre. Close to 8,000 prehistoric sites are now listed with ISAQ (Inventaire des sites archéologiques du Québec), the site registry data bank at the Ministry.

14. See Desrosiers (1994); Duguay (1994); and Chevrier (1994).

15. Chism (1974); and Laliberté (1976). In addition to these archaeological salvage operations, provision was also made for ethnohistorical and ethnological studies (Guy, Hardy and Martijn 1972).

16. Starting in 1978, Hydro-Québec engaged its own administrative archaeological staff, initially Laurent Girouard, and later Bertrand Émard and André Burroughs. They did the planning and internal coordination while actual field work and data interpretation activities were carried out under contract by consultant firms.

17. Among the pioneering founders of these consultant firms one can name the indefatigable Daniel Chevrier, an outstanding figure among Quebec prehistorians; Pierre Dumais; Gilles Rousseau; Jocelyne Séguin; Jean Mandeville; Pierre Bibeau; and Claude Rocheleau. At a later date, other prehistory consultants and free lancers entered the field, such as Guy Agin, Robert Bilodeau, Judith Blais, Adrian Burke, Daniel Castonguay, Éric Chalifoux, Robert Comtois, Luc Litwinionek, Francis Marcoux, André Mercier, and Philippe Picard.

18. See for example: Laforte *et al.* (1987); Dumais and Poirier (1989).

students who could later be employed in such ventures, but they also provided opportunities for others wanting to undertake more traditional academic research projects. With this in mind, the Département d'anthropologie of the Université de Montréal began to operate a summer field school at the Pointe-du-Buisson site, under the supervision of Norman Clermont. In addition, the St Lawrence Lowlands were selected as a convenient and promising training ground for engaging in problem-oriented activities suitable for thesis elaboration. Meanwhile, at the UQUAM (Université du Québec à Montréal), Patrick Plumet and Gilles Tassé set up an archaeology laboratory and instituted a teaching programme. An initial research activity was the study of rock art sites (Tassé and Dewdney 1977). Beginning in 1975, this same institution commenced a five year Paleo-Eskimo research programme in Northern Quebec, called *Tuvaaluk*, with the assistance of Jean-Paul Salaün and Ian Badgley (Plumet 1976, 1985, n.d.). In Southern Quebec, the SAPQ extended its activities to the Late Woodland (Iroquoian) Mandeville site, and the excavation data later served as subject matter for the first doctoral degree granted by a Quebec university, which dealt with a specific Quebec prehistory theme (Chapdelaine 1989).[19]

More numerous publication opportunities opened up for articles as well as monographs. The anthropological journal *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* (*RAQ*) was founded in 1971 and now ranks among the foremost of its genre on the North American continent. Several thematic issues were eventually devoted to interpretative essays dealing with various cultural periods into which southern Quebec prehistory has been provisionally subdivided: Palaeo-Indian, Archaic, Woodland and Late Prehistoric.[20] A sister publication, *Études/Inuit/Studies*, whose first number came out in 1977, specializes in all aspects of arctic anthropology, including Palaeo-Eskimo and Inuit archaeology. The *Dossiers* and *Cahiers du Patrimoine* series of the Ministère des Affaires culturelles, the *Mercury Series* of the former National Museum of Man, in Ottawa (now the Canadian Museum of Civilization), and to a lesser extent *Géographie physique et Quaternaire* and the *Canadian Journal of Archaeology*, also contributed to the diffusion of prehistorical data from Quebec.[21] In 1974, the Université du Québec in Montreal began to issue a monograph series called *Paléo-Québec* dealing with the fields of palaeo-environment and archaeology in Quebec (Plumet n.d.).[22] These volumes focussed at first on Northern Quebec but now encompass the southern area as well.

19. For more detailed overviews of field projects and evolving perspectives on the prehistoric cultural sequence of Quebec during the Seventies, see Clermont (1987); and Martijn (1974).

20. Thematic *RAQ* issues include volume 15, nos. 1–2 (1985) on the Palaeo-Indian period; volume 17, nos. 1–2 (1987) on the Archaic period; volume 19, nos. 2–3 (1989) on the Late Prehistoric period; volume 20, no. 1 (1990) on the Woodland period; and volume 24, nos. 1–2 on Historic Native Archaeology. An index covering volumes I–XX of RAQ is provided in volume 20, nos. 3–4 (1990). Key monographs which provide regional syntheses of specific periods within the prehistoric cultural sequence of Quebec are: *Palaeo-Indian* — Benmouyal (1987), Chapdelaine (1994), and Ethnoscop (1996); *Archaic* — Plumet *et al.* (1993); *Archaic and Woodland* — Clermont and Chapdelaine (1982); *Late Woodland (Iroquoian)* — Clermont, Chapdelaine and Barré (1983), Chapdelaine (1989), Chapdelaine *et al.* (1996); and *Palaeo-Eskimo* — Plumet (1976, 1985); Plumet and Gangloff (1991). In 1997, another thematic issue, under the direction of Pierre Dumais, will be devoted to the topic of *Theoretical Archaeology*. It should be noted that certain other reviews and syntheses, for instance those relating to the northern half of Quebec are available only in unpublished report form: Badgley (1984) — *Subarctic Quebec*; Samson (1981) — *Lac Mushuau Nipi/Indian House Lake district*; and Archéotec (1985); Cérane (1984, 1985, 1996); and Ethnoscop (1995) — *James Bay region*.

21. *Mémoires Vives*, a semi-popular journal dealing with historical archaeology, was founded in 1989. Its contents include some prehistoric topics, mainly within an urban archaeology context. The Département d'anthropologie at the Université de Montréal puts out a semi-popular journal devoted to prehistory, *A fleur de siècles*, which targets the informed public and school children. In addition, the Ministère des Affaires culturelles (1986) has published, and subsequently reprinted, French and English versions of a booklet entitled *Archaeology in Québec*, which is addressed to the general public. It summarizes the prehistoric Northeast cultural sequence, outlines the aims and techniques of archaeological research, and discusses various aspects of local heritage management.

22. Several university students formerly associated with the Tuvaaluk programme have taken up careers as professional archaeologists, including Marie-France Archambault, Réginald Auger, Pierre Bibeau, André Bergeron, Jean-Guy Brassard, Pierre Desrosiers, Françoise Duguay, Yves Labrèche, Claude Pinard, Marie-Hélène Provencal, Claude Rocheleau, and Denis Roy.

Other notable events during the Seventies were initial syntheses of Quebec prehistory, two in French (*Archéologia* 1978; Chapdelaine 1978) and a third one by Wright (1979) which came out in both of Canada's official languages. Furthermore, in 1979, the Ministère des Affaires culturelles (MAC) organized a colloquium and invited representatives from government agencies, universities, native communities, heritage organizations, amateur societies and museums to examine the situation of archaeology in Quebec from four points of view: research history and project tabulation; diffusion and exhibition; protection; and academic training. A number of recommendations were formulated by the participants. The proceedings of these sessions provide an excellent baseline study of how Quebec archaeology was structured at that time (Ministère des Affaires culturelles 1979–1980).

Capping the above developments came the decision, in 1979, by professional archaeologists and graduate students who were active in both prehistoric and historic archaeology, to form the *Association des archéologues du Québec* (*AAQ*). Its primary aims are to ensure professional standards of scientific research, to promote the diffusion of archaeological information, and to act as a lobby group for the protection and conservation of archaeological resources in Quebec (AAQ 1994). A newsletter, *Le Babillard* (*i.e.* The Notice-Board) is issued four times yearly.

The Eighties: Coming of Age and Consolidation

During this period practically every region of Quebec came under scrutiny by prehistorians. Concurrent with this, data analyses relating to large-scale programmes such as the *Tuvaaluk* project of the Université du Québec in Montreal, and the James Bay salvage operations, were undertaken. The UQUAM also started a field school at Grandes-Bergeronnes on the Upper North Shore in 1983, while elsewhere, on the Lower North Shore, Dominique Groison and Jean-Yves Pintal commenced an intensive survey and excavation campaign. The first doctoral thesis dealing with Quebec archaeology, on the subject of North Gaspé prehistory, was completed by José Benmouyal (1981) at Simon Fraser University (British Columbia).

The interested reader who wants to acquire a better grasp of the scope of archaeological activities carried out in Quebec throughout this decade should consult the following two publication series. Since 1983, summary descriptions of each project are furnished once a year in a compendium called *Recherches archéologiques au Québec*, made available by the Association des archéologues du Québec. Starting in 1987, the AAQ also began issuing another yearly publication called *Archéologiques* which contains selected papers presented at its annual meetings. These cover every aspect of archaeological activity including interdisciplinary endeavours, theory, methodological approaches, as well as survey and excavation results. Finally, the journal *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* launched an anthropological monograph series entitled *Signes des Amériques* which thus far has included final reports devoted to the Pointe-du-Buisson, Lanoraie and Mandeville sites, and an interdisciplinary study of Micmac maritime culture, comprising an account of archaeological remains from the Iles-de-la-Madeleine (Magdalen Islands) in the middle of the Gulf of St Lawrence (McCaffrey 1986).

In addition, it should be noted that for the benefit of the informed public, the Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture (IQRC) has sought to ensure that the volumes in its series of regional histories include a chapter dealing with local native prehistory and culture.[23]

As is to be expected, most of these archaeological publications are in French. Apprehensions have been occasionally expressed about the extent to which this fact tends to isolate Quebec prehistorians by inhibiting the diffusion and absorption of their data among pre-

23. Examples are Chevrier (1996a, 1996b) for the Gulf of St Lawrence North Shore; and Côté (1995) for the Abitibi-Témiscamingue region.

dominantly unilingual (*i.e.* English-speaking) colleagues elsewhere in Canada and the United States.[24] No easy solution exists. However, as more and more efforts are expended on the formulation of regional syntheses, pressure is being created for accelerated and sustained communication. More recently, exchange of information has been facilitated at the national level by organizing joint annual meetings of archaeological associations and by promoting the publication of their yearly proceedings, as well as of those marking special occasions such as festschrifts.[25] Inevitably, in the years to come, unless hampered by financial restraints, participation at international conferences is bound to increase.

Thus far, only limited attention has been directed to questions concerning epistemology and theoretical orientations in Quebec prehistory studies.[26] While university instruction tends to fall within the "Americanist" school of archaeology, that is to say within an anthropological context, there are specific European influences, French as well as British, which vary in their impact from one department to another. In regard to the framework of chronological and cultural sequences, Quebec prehistorians have tended to rely extensively on the schemes and terminology employed in adjoining regions within the Northeast and the Arctic. However, certain original contributions and modifications are beginning to be made, for instance by Roland Tremblay and Michel Plourde on the subject of Eastern St Lawrence Iroquoian maritime adaptation in the St Lawrence estuary,[27] and by Jocelyne Séguin, Pierre Dumais and associates, Daniel Chevrier and David Denton in regard to boreal forest culture history.[28]

It became a commonplace procedure during the Eighties for Quebec archaeologists to orchestrate interdisciplinary projects by seeking out specialized assistance from colleagues in associated fields of research: radiocarbon dating, palaeo-ecology, faunal analysis, lithic sourcing, conservation and restoration methods, human osteology, faunal analysis, artifact casting, etc.[29] The Université du Québec at Chicoutimi set up an archaeological research and laboratory center and embarked on large-scale archaeological programme in the lac St-Jean-Saguenay region

24. See for example Clermont (1987:849); Dumais (1994:41); and Mackie (1995:187–8).
25. The first joint meeting of the Canadian Archaeological Association and the Association des archéologues du Québec, held in Montreal in 1993, resulted in the publication of a French language proceedings volume *Archéologies québécoises*, edited by Balac *et al.* (1995). In another volume, this time containing only English language essays, dedicated to James V. Wright upon the occasion of his retirement from the Canadian Museum of Civilization, six out of the nine contributors were Quebec archaeologists (Pendergast and Chapdelaine 1993).
26. Notably Arsenault (1990); Clermont (1987); Croison (1978); Mackie (1995); Nagy (1994); Plumet (1987); Rousseau (1993); Séguin (1985); Trigger (1981); and Wright (1985). The subject is not listed as an index theme in Corbeil (1996). In 1997, a special issue of the journal *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* will be devoted to theoretical approaches in archaeology.
27. Chapdelaine (1995); Plourde (1993b); and Tremblay (1993, 1995).
28. Archéotec (1985); Cérane (1984, 1985, 1996); Denton (1993, 1995); and Ethnoscop (1995).
29. See for example: Bergeron and Rémillard (1991); Codère (1995); G. Gagné (1993); and Larocque (1985). The first compendium of Quebec radiocarbon dates was put together by Taillon and Barré (1987). It would be impossible here to list all the collaborators from auxilliary fields ranging from earth sciences, palaeo-botany, osteology, dating methods, artifact reproduction, etc., to ethnohistory, ethnology, conservation, museology, diffusion and documentation, as well as representatives from native communities and local historical societies, but one could name Paul Aubin, Wendell Beauvais, Jacques Béland, Roch Belzile, André Bergeron, Claude Bernard, Maurice Binette, Hélène Boivin, Michel A. Bouchard, Michel Cadieux, Gaston Cadrin, Nicole Catellier, Paul Charest, Leonard C. Clark, Jean-Pierre Cloutier, Évelyne Cossette, Robert Crépeau, Stephen L. Cumbaa, Bernard de Boutray, Céline Deguise, J. Peter Denny, Jean-Claude Dionne, Carl Dobbin, Paul-Émile Dominique, Geneviève Eustache, Jean-Marie Dubois, Marc Gadreau, Louis Gagnon, Pierre Gangloff, Fred Georgekish, François Girard, Claudine Giroux, André Gosselin, Réal Goulet, Pierre Grégoire, Louis-Edmond Hamelin, Michèle Julien, Greg Kennedy, Marc Laberge, Michel Lamothe, Alayn Larouche, Pierre Lasalle, Serge Lebel, Vianney Legendre, Carole Levesque, José Mailhot, Robert Marquis, Fred McGregor, Toby Morantz, François Morneau, Gaston Montreuil, Nicole O'Bomsawin, David Okpik, David Marcel Ottawa, Alain Painchaud, Jean Piérard, Lyn Pinel, Jean Poirier, Gilbert Prichonnet, Dominique Rankin, Pierre J.H. Richard, Jacques Rousseau, Marcelle Roy, Claire Saint-Germain, Bernard Saladin d'Anglure, Dorothée Sohier, René Ténasco, Roland Viau, Sylvie Vincent, William "Bill" Vincent, Ian Wainwright, Alan Watchman, and Alex Weistche. On one notable occasion, archaeologists were invited to join an interdisciplinary team which studied the natural history of the Cratère du Nouveau-Québec, also known as Chubb's Crater, or to the Inuit, Pingualuit (Labrèche 1989).

(Moreau 1987). An *Ostéothèque* (faunal osteology laboratory) was established in Montreal and a *Centre de conservation* in Quebec City.[30] The McCord Museum of Canadian History hired Moira T. McCaffrey as curator for its archaeological and ethnological collections and initiated a programme of exhibitions in collaboration with native organizations. An archaeological interpretation centre was built at the Pointe-du-Buisson site.

In 1980, a second government ministry, the Ministère des Transports du Québec, decided to hire an archaeologist, Denis Roy, who was mandated to put into application the protective measures of the *Environmental Quality Act* relative to construction and maintenance work within the entire transportation network, including roads, highways and local airports. A well-conceived programme of salvage operations which was subsequently put into effect has since played an effective role in safeguarding prehistoric resources throughout Quebec.[31]

During the early 1980s, the Ministère des Affaires culturelles underwent a profound restructuring. A decentralization policy was instituted which, among other things, led to the dismantling of the Service d'archéologie et d'ethnologie. The archaeological permits section and the site inventory were incorporated into a central heritage division, while the remaining archaeological staff members were attached as resource persons to regional offices, including Montreal and Quebec City.[32] Prehistoric collections are now housed and administered in modern facilities provided by the Ministry at the *Centre de conservation du Québec*.

The disadvantages of this new administrative arrangement were offset by an increased flexibility to cope with growing needs and demands at a local level, particularly so where research funding, professional expertise, salvage operations, museum exhibits, publications and heritage protection were concerned. The Ministry engaged in a sustained effort to enter into viable cost-sharing partnerships with urban administrations and municipalities across the province, as well as with other ministries whose jurisdictions impinged on the preservation of cultural heritage. In this regard, a quantitative overview detailing the involvement of the Ministry in the financing of archaeological projects and the management of archaeological resources during the period 1961-1987, is provided by Balac and Mousseau (1988).

Amerindian and Inuit Archaeology

During the latter part of this century, various debates and even occasional confrontations took place in North America between prehistorians and First Nation communities about specific aspects of archaeological research such as the exhumation of native burials; the storage and use of these skeletal remains at universities and museums for study, teaching and display purposes; reburial of native skeletal collections; and the ownership of prehistoric as well as ethnological artifact collections. For a variety of reasons such disputes have been a very rare occurrence in Quebec. With the exception of a 17th-century Amerindian cemetery at Sillery, and a collection of Inuit skeletons from Ungava, only isolated finds of prehistoric or historic native burials have been made in the past few decades (Larocque 1985:45–6, 62–3). In a number of instances, when more recent native cemeteries were threatened by erosion or construction, the remains have been excavated, studied and reburied elsewhere by mutual agreement between local Algonquin and Attikamek communities and the Quebec government (G. Gagné 1993). In one particular case, during the James

30. The inclusion of archaeological laboratory facilities and collections storage space within this Conservation Centre was due in large measure to the perspicacity and persistence of Claire Mousseau.

31. Other archaeological staff members at the Ministère des Transports have been Jean Dumont, Bernard Hébert, and Esther Laforte.

32. Up until the present, non-government prehistorians employed by educational institutions, private firms and museums have tended to congregate in the large urban centers of Montreal and Quebec City. Exceptions are Marc Côté with Corporation Archéo-08, an autonomous regional organization at Rouyn-Noranda (Abitibi-Témiscamingue); Serge Lebel at the archaeology section of the Musée des arts et des traditions populaires du Quebec et Trois-Rivières; Jean-François Moreau, Érik Langevin, and for a period of time Céline Larouche, at the Université du Québec in Chicoutimi (Saguenay-lac-St-Jean); and Bertrand Morin, Denis Émond and Éric Graillon with teaching or museum responsibilities in Sherbrooke (Eastern Townships).

Bay hydro-development negotiations, the Innu (Montagnais) had three contemporary burials exhumed by archaeologists, which were analysed and later reinterred in order to validate their claim that a section of the Caniapiscau Reservoir constituted part of their hunting territories (Larocque 1982).

The question of artifact ownership remains unresolved, but has been discussed at a number of workshop meetings organized during 1993–4 by a Native Heritage Committee co-sponsored by the Canadian Archaeological Association (CAA) and the Association des archéologues du Québec (AAQ). These sessions were attended by First Nations representatives and archaeologists and also dealt with other points such as professional ethics, sacred sites and burials, cultural resource management and protection, native training programmes, differing perspectives and interpretations of the past, and government policy (Denton and Duguay 1993). Recommendations were formulated and adopted as CAA guidelines, and their implementation is now awaited (Nicholson *et al.* 1996). Although it will take more time to overcome all misunderstanding and uneasiness,[33] these discussions have permitted different interested parties to clarify their needs and aspirations insofar as the utilization of artifact collections and other types of archaeological data are concerned. The concept of co-management has gained ground. In Quebec, artifacts occurring on crown lands belong to the government while those on private lands are the property of the owner (Dominique 1981). In practice, it works out to the disadvantage of native communities. Protocols will be needed to rectify this situation, permitting them to exercise the stewardship of their own prehistoric heritage.

Logically speaking, the James Bay salvage projects should have accelerated effective native involvement in archaeology. Such headway did not take place (Barré and Martijn 1988). The academic trappings of this discipline presented an obstacle to ready communication. The why and wherefore of fieldwork were not immediately apparent, and the tedious tasks of laboratory analysis required long-term motivation. Some common ground for mutual comprehension did exist but time was needed to explore differing concepts and perceptions. Invariably too, migrant archaeologists only showed up in the summer, and went back south again during the winter, thereby interrupting contact and strengthening the impression that this was primarily a White Man's preoccupation.[34] Only exceptionally did the idea of archaeology as a

33. Apparently apprehensive about possible restrictions on his research activities, Plumet (1979a, 1984, 1986) has argued against the ownership of archaeological remains by First Nations minorities. In his opinion such resources should be classed as world heritage and presumably managed by nation states. These views have only been expressed in academic journals which for all practical purposes are inaccessible to northern communities, leaving them unaware of such lobbying efforts. It does not appear that he has ever sat down with native representatives to obtain their reaction. For a general critique of Plumet's past relationships with Inuit communities insofar as the management of their archaeological heritage in Northern Quebec is concerned, see Martijn (n.d.). Other apprehensions, relating in this instance to markedly unequal legislative measures for the protection of archaeological resources in Northern Canada, with a consequent danger of increased and legally sanctioned site pillaging, have been voiced by Meunier (1995).

34. Quebec archaeologists have been attentive insofar as their ethical responsibilities towards First Nations groups are concerned. Encounters with band councils, public information meetings in communities, audio-visual shows, exhibits, and the production of reading material are now standard procedure. A renewed interest in rock art research has also enhanced respect for native feelings as regards sacred sites, and led to increased efforts at collaborative investigation and co-management, appropriate ceremonies, and conservation measures (Arsenault *et al.* 1995). In addition, Parks Canada has instituted a programme to select for special commemoration a series of representative archaeological sites which attest to the prehistoric presence of First Nations in Quebec (Drouin 1991). Unfortunately, such attempts at establishing mutual confidence, founded on good faith, can be counteracted by gestures which arouse distrust. One thinks of the tendentious and disturbing campaign being waged by certain persons to demonstrate that native groups such as the Mohawks, Attikamek, Montagnais, and Hurons are either 17th century "immigrants" within the present day political boundaries of Quebec, or have been assimilated into Euro-Canadian society, and supposedly do not possess ancestral aboriginal rights here. For a critical examination of this position see various opinions expressed by Pierre Trudel, Paul Charest and Norman Clermont in the "Actualités" section of *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* (1996) 26(2):82–6, as well as the orientations put forward in publications by Bouchard (1995) and Vaugeois (1995, 1996).

native career opportunity take hold. For young persons it continued to be perceived as a summer job occupation, while certain individuals among the middle-aged and elderly were sought out as informants about campsite locations and aspects of life on the land. This sometimes led to entire Cree families living together with archaeological field parties during the summer season, and allowed for meaningful individual contacts on both sides. Nevertheless, there was little if any native input in research planning or overall cultural resource management.[35] In the long run, however, hydro-electric development programmes in the James Bay region helped to sensitize local Cree communities to the contribution archaeology can make in exploring their past. People from native communities elsewhere in Quebec are also becoming more aware now of its educational, economic and cultural advantages.

In 1983 the Cree Regional Authority initiated its own archaeology programme which was intended to meet specific needs expressed by the nine James Bay Cree communities themselves (Martijn 1994b). A professional archaeologist, David Denton, was hired in 1987 on a full-time basis.[36] This arrangement allows for sustained local contact, more effective control in decision-making, the setting of priorities at the community level, and a fuller opportunity to integrate native viewpoints and interpretations into archaeological syntheses (Denton 1995).

From 1986 onward, the Ministère des Affaires culturelles provided annual financial support for this Cree programme.[37] Additional grants are received from other sources, primarily the Cree Board of Compensation. Beginning in 1991, emphasis was placed on the recording of traditional and sacred sites. Such localities do not necessarily have an archaeological component. Nevertheless they still play an important role in Cree oral tradition and culture and provide a broader understanding of land use in the past. Thousands of place-names and the stories, myths and songs associated with them are now in the process of being systematically collected and classified.

From 1977 to 1982, the Ministère des Affaires culturelles also provided support for a young Inuk from the East Hudson Bay village of Inukjuak, Daniel Weetaluktuk, who after acquiring experience at archaeological training schools had become deeply interested in northern prehistory and demonstrated an unusual aptitude for fieldwork (Martijn n.d.). At the 1979 colloquium on Quebec archaeology he drew the following picture of archaeology as perceived by the Inuit at that point in time (Weetaluktuk 1980:102):

> Arctic archaeology has always been the southern archaeologist's thing for over the past 50 years and still is today. They have kept it that way so the Inuit of eastern Arctic still don't know and understand it too well. The Inuit also see only a small fraction of archaeological work in the

35. A *Committee for Archaeological Concertation* was established in 1980 to oversee James Bay salvage operations. Originally composed of representatives from Cree, Inuit, and Montagnais organizations, as well as from the Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Hydro-Québec and the Société d'Energie de la Baie James, it was later joined by observers from the Naskapi community, the Association des Archéologues du Québec, and the Cultural Properties Commission. It stopped functioning in 1983 after the Ministère des Affaires culturelles ceased to continue with a salvage cost-sharing agreement, and when the larger hydro-electric projects came to an end (Martijn 1994b).

36. On various occasions, James Chism, Céline Larouche, Richard Lueger, and Francis Marcoux have worked as consultants for the Cree Archaeology Program.

37. This is in compliance with official Quebec government policy relating to Amerindian and Inuit communities. Among the principles adopted by the Assemblée Nationale du Québec in 1985, with regard to the aboriginal people of Quebec, is the recognition that they constitute distinct nations who possess the right to determine, by themselves, the development of their own identity. As such they are entitled to benefit from public funds in order to pursue cultural and other objectives which they esteem to be fundamental (Ministère des Affaires culturelles 1990:7). The Direction du Nord-du-Québec, headed by Michel Noël, was instrumental in implementing this native cultural support policy at the Ministère des Affaires culturelles. Among other things, the preparation of an explanatory brochure (French and English versions), entitled *Indian and Inuit Archaeology* was funded and subsequently distributed to native communities throughout Quebec (Musée du Bas-Saint-Laurent 1987).

> field for most of the analysis is done down south. So the Inuit have had to settle for being guides/laborers and they had little choice but to do so because of the circumstances involved, their lack of inside knowledge and proper training. They may have some idea of what pre-historians do but it is often filled with misconceptions which are largely the fault of archaeologists themselves. Many Inuit do not know how useful archaeology is because no one ever bothered to explain its significance to them, when all they ever see is some archaeologists that come during summertime then leave again before the snow comes, so the Inuit have never become too interested.

Changes gradually came about, although Daniel Weetaluktuk did not live to see them. He died an accidental death in 1982, a severe setback for native archaeology in Northern Quebec. To honour him, the Canadian Archaeological Association hands out an annual student paper competition award under his name.

At the Elders Conference of Nunavik, in 1983, the Avataq Cultural Institute received a mandate to represent the Quebec Inuit in all matters dealing with archaeology, and to see to the formation of Inuit in that field of research. The following year the Ministère des Affaires culturelles and the Avataq Cultural Institute commissioned a report entitled "Prehistoric Inuit Archaeology in Quebec and Adjacent Regions: A Review and Assessment of Research Perspectives" (Badgley 1984). The year thereafter, the Avataq Cultural Institute created an archaeology division and hired Ian Badgley to take charge of it. From then on the Ministère des Affaires culturelles has provided annual funding for Avataq's prehistory programme which also receives aid from other sources (Martijn 1994a). The archaeology division carries out site inventories and salvage operations related to Inuit village expansions, organizes local exhibitions, and is involved in land use planning and in the promotion of Inuit heritage in a context of tourism development. In line with the wish expressed by the Elders, field schools have been held. Thus far over 100 Inuit teenagers, coming from 14 northern villages, have participated in these projects and thereby helped to make archaeology better known throughout their communities. One Inuk student, Tommy Weetaluktuk, has attended the Department of Anthropology at McGill University in Montreal, and is employed as a researcher by Avataq. Since 1993, Daniel Gendron heads the archaeology division, assisted by Claude Pinard.

Other native groups in Quebec have been intermittently involved in prehistoric research projects but have not set up specific administrative centres. For a number of years Pablo Somcynski served the former Conseil Attikamek-Montagnais as an archaeological consultant.

The Nineties: An Uneasy Maturity

Grey hair and shiny domes are now a common sight at annual professional meetings. A few colleagues have passed away, retirement has claimed certain others, and distressingly so, several veterans have felt compelled to leave the profession in order to start up new careers elsewhere. At the same time there are signs that the discipline has matured along with its practitioners. The Nineties have been a decade of introspection, of stock taking and of fine-tuning, but also of new inclinations, of budding ventures and inevitably, of facing up to reality. A churning anxiety about the future is felt everywhere: large-scale projects such as hydro-development are at a halt, universities have begun reducing their staff and eliminating programmes, the job market continues to shrink, the renamed Ministère de la Culture et des Communications no longer considers heritage a priority, government deregulation looms, consultant firms are downsizing or disappearing, and funding is increasingly harder to obtain.

Among new fieldwork initiatives undertaken during this period were studies by Adrian Burke and Éric Chalifoux, and by members of the consultant firm Ethnoscop, in the lac Témiscouata region of southeastern Québec, noted for its Late Palaeo-Indian potential, its quarry sites and for several portage routes linking the St Lawrence Valley to the Atlantic Provinces by way of the St John River waterway. More recently the activities of these same researchers have also been extended to the Late Paleo-Indian (Plano) sites of the Gaspé Peninsula. Roland Tremblay island-

hopped in the lower St Lawrence River: île Verte, île du Bic and île aux Corneilles. Michel Plourde and Steve Dubreuil covered sections of the Upper North Shore, and Dominique Lalande assumed charge of the Archéo-Topo interpretation centre at Grandes-Bergeronnes. Elsewhere, Marc Côté expanded activities in the Abitibi-Témiscamingue district, while Marcel Laliberté discovered late Palaeo-Indian sites near Lévis and started survey explorations and excavations in the lower Ottawa Valley, notably at Lac Leamy. Yves Chrétien did additional late Palaeo-Indian research in the Quebec City area, and also dug a key Early Woodland manifestation at Saint-Nicolas, remarkable for its numerous cache blades and for an intrusive early historic native burial containing two copper kettles. An inland St Lawrence Iroquoian village in the Chateauguay River basin became the focus of attention by Michel Gagné, and St Lawrence Iroquoian fishing stations on the Pike River (Lake Champlain) were tested by Judith Blais. Daniel Arsenault and associates revived rock art research, investigating both Amerindian and Palaeo-Eskimo locations. In Nunavik (Northern Quebec), Murielle Nagy undertook a study of Pre-Dorset and Dorset Palaeo-Eskimo habitations at Ivujivik, while Yves Labrêche engaged in field-work activities within the Deception Bay district.

Four publications in particular provide a perspective on this decade. Of special interest is *Archéologiques* Number 8 (Association des archéologues du Québec 1994), containing the proceedings of a colloquium held that same year. Entitled "Viser la cohérence" [Aiming for Coherence], it furnishes a second state of the art picture of Quebec archaeology, this time covering the period 1979-1994. The workshops dealt with the coherence of actual legislation; leadership and concertation; the task of making coherent choices; and a plenary session on the outcome of these discussions.[38] A thematic issue of the journal *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* (volume 24, nos. 1–2, Spring, 1994) was devoted to Historic Native Archaeology. Elsewhere a selection of site descriptions and regional panoramas is offered in a *Festschrift* for James V. Wright (Pendergast and Chapdelaine 1993), as well as in a commemorative compendium called *Archéologies québécoises* (Balac *et al.* 1995). Together with other monographs, syntheses and articles, these cover the North Shore,[39] the Bas-du-Fleuve and Témiscouata districts,[40] the James Bay region,[41] the Abitibi-Témiscamingue region,[42] the Plano period,[43] the Meadowood culture,[44] rock art and other prehistoric artistic manifestations,[45] lithic sourcing,[46] native copper and European trade copper,[47] prehistoric and contact trading networks,[48] and the Eastern St Lawrence Iroquoians.[49] Occasionally there have been dissonant notes. Reputed evidence for 16th century Basque-Native contact at île-aux-Basques

38. Of particular relevance to the development of prehistory studies in Quebec are the papers in this 1994 number by Desrosiers, Duguay, Dumais, Chevrier, Moreau, and Denton.

39. See for example: Archambault (1987); Plourde (1993a); Plumet *et al.* (1993, 1994); Chevrier (1996a, 1996b); Pintal (1997), and Pintal and Martijn (n.d.).

40. Dumais (1988); Dumais and Poirier (1989); Chalifoux and Burke (1995); and Chalifoux *et al.* (1997).

41. Cerane (1985, 1996); Ethnoscop (1995); Denton (1993, 1995, n.d.).

42. Côté and Lessard (1993); and Côté (1995, 1996).

43. Benmouyal (1987); Laliberté (1992); Chapdelaine (1994; 1996); Dumais, Larouche and Poirier (1997); and Lasalle and Chapdelaine (1990).

44. Chrétien (1995).

45. Arsenault *et al.* (1995); and Roy (1987).

46. Codère (1995). He is the founder of the Centre de référence lithique du Québec which publishes an annual bulletin on regional lithic sourcing, called *Asini*.

47. Langevin *et al.* (1995); and Moreau and Hancock (1995).

48. Chapdelaine *et al.* (1995, n.d.); McCaffrey (1989); Moreau (1996); Pintal (1990); and Wright (1994). Also selected papers in *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec*, 24(1–2), Spring, 1994.

49. Blais (1993); Chapdelaine (1989, 1993, 1995); M. Gagné (1993); Pendergast (1996); Plourde (1993b); and Tremblay (1993; 1995). For the numerous contributions by Norman Clermont, Quebec's most eminent prehistorian, on different aspects of Iroquoian studies and other topics, see Corbeil (1996:15–17). Another outstanding scholar, Chapdelaine (1995:179), has provided a lengthy list of 38 students who during the 1990s participated in various field projects connected with the extensive Eastern St Lawrence Iroquoian research programme of the Université de Montréal, one of the best organized and productive efforts of its kind in the history of Quebec archaeology. Several of these persons, as well as other graduates from the Université de Montréal, are either continuing on towards a higher academic degree or have begun to pursue a career in prehistoric studies, notably Daniel Arsenault, Steve Bourget, Adrian Burke, Éric Chalifoux, Yves Chrétien, Steve Dubreuil, Michel Gagné, Christian Gates-St-Pierre, Claude Gélinas, Céline Larouche, Sylvie Leblanc, Jean-Yves Pintal, Michel Plourde, Daniel Saint-Arnaud, and Roland Tremblay.

in the St Lawrence River estuary has prompted several categoric affirmations which, thus far, remain unsubstantiated (*cf.* Turgeon 1997).

Quebec prehistorians have also begun focussing on popular education and the need to increase the visibility and utilization of their end product. Different approaches are being tried such as integrating site activities into existing tourist circuits. At select localities the general public is taken around on guided visits, shown small exhibits and provided with brochures or booklets. Sometimes, people can participate in actual excavation work. Moreover, the number of museums, interpretation and exhibition centres with a prehistoric vocation or component has grown over the years.[50] The *in situ* preservation of archaeological remains served as the main theme of the Second International Conference sponsored by the *ICAHM* (International Committee on Archaeological Heritage Management), which was held in Montreal in 1994, and organized by members of the Québec archaeological community (ICOMOS 1996). Increasingly too, archaeologists now work in close collaboration with regional organizations such as the *Société d'histoire et d'archéologie du Témiscouata* and the *Centre d'interprétation d'archéologie préhistorique de la Gaspésie à La Martre*, to name but two of these. One notable achievement has been the travelling exhibit *Abitibiwinni: 6000 Years of History*, which deals with the prehistory of the Algonquin First Nation in Québec, and is being shown in Canada and in Europe. It was co-produced by Marc Côté of the Corporation Archéo-08, the Algonquin Société Matcite8eia, and the Amos cultural centre, and designed by Cinémanima. Nonetheless, as outlined by Clermont (1992) in a perceptive article, Quebec prehistorians have failed to analyse the inherent difficulties which hamper a wide-scale diffusion of archaeological information. Although now seasoned producers of data, they are still ineffective salespersons when it comes to attracting and educating the public. The Association des archéologues du Québec should adopt a new strategy and implement a series of measures designed to forge direct links with a broader segment of the population.

Conclusion

Over a period of four decades, 1957–97, Quebec regional archaeology has managed to achieve the status of a mature professional discipline, to be incorporated into the fabric of environmental protection practices, to become an integral component of cultural heritage management, and to have an input into popular education through a diffusion network of participatory activities, publications and interpretation displays. In other words, archaeology, while not a topic of everyday conversation, has made a modest but distinctive imprint on contemporary Quebec society and entered into the consciousness of the general public. Unavoidably so, archaeological community members, who probably number no more than 150 persons able to make a living at it, are now caught up in the present economic upheaval which buffets every level of their society. Persistent unemployment, budget compressions, legislative laissez-faire, and academic retrenchment are the new horse-

50. I am obliged to my colleague, Pierre Desrosiers, who is doing a dissertation on the subject of archaeological site management and development in Québec, for allowing me access to his notes. The most prominent Quebec museums, interpretation centres and exhibition locales with a prehistoric vocation or component are: the Pointe-à-Callière musée d'histoire et d'archéologie and the McCord Museum of Canadian History in Montreal; the Parc archéologique de la Pointe-du-Buisson at Melocheville; the Musée des arts et traditions populaires of Trois-Rivières; Fort Lennox on the Richelieu River; the Musée du Séminaire de Sherbrooke; the Centre d'histoire et d'archéologie de la Métabetchouane in Desbiens; the Centre Archéo-Topo at Grandes-Bergeronnes; the Parc de l'aventure basque of Trois-Pistoles; the Musée régional de la Côte-Nord in Sept-Iles; and finally the Musée canadien des civilisations (Canadian Museum of Civilization), the federal institution located in Hull. This considerable museological activity stimulated the appearance of specialized consultant firms. A pioneer example is the audio-visual enterprise Vidéanthrop founded by Marc Laberge during the 1970's, whose slide collections, videos, and ethnographic drawings have been widely used in the preparation of prehistoric exhibitions and for the illustration of publications (Laberge 1997). Artisans such as Michel Cadieux and Gaston Montreuil acquired considerable expertise in the casting and reproduction of prehistoric artifacts, while experimental archaeology (flint-knapping) has been pursued by several enthusiasts, including Michael Bisson, Yves Chrétien, Dominique Groison, and René Ribes.

men of today's apocalypse. As a result, professional archaeology in Quebec, which came into existence less than forty years ago, is undergoing a pronounced midlife crisis. But prehistorians possess survival skills for adverse conditions. They have learned over the years how to hunker down in trenches and to keep working away: hot sun aburning, hard rain afalling, or blackflies abiting. The fact that the word *adaptation* is not just an esoteric concept employed when interpretating archaeological data, but applies equally as well to their own lives, is now readily understood.

And so, yet another generation of Québécois prehistorians — young, innovative, eager and undeterred — will have to continue the task of advancing their chosen discipline, while grappling with a changing set of existential challenges.

Let us listen again to what, years ago, our very own *chansonnier* sang to us:

Chu pas mal mal parti
Pour sauver mon pays
J'y ai tellement rêvé
Qu'chu déjà trop fatigué, maudit!
J'me suis tellement menti
A moé pis à mes amis
Qu'j'aurais envie d'mourir
Mais ça ça voudrait dire
Qu'y m'ont eu les maudits
J'reste en vie!

Paul Piché
(1977; "Chu pas mal mal partie", from *A qui appartient l'beau temps?*. Montréal: Kébec-Disc Inc.)

Acknowledgements

This article constitutes my adieu to Quebec prehistoric archaeology, with which it was my privilege to be associated for the past forty years (*cf.* Tremblay 1998). I dedicate it to my friend and colleague, Norman Clermont, professor at the Département d'anthropologie, Université de Montréal: a gentleman, scholar and magister whose gifted way with the written word never ceases to delight anew.

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Chapter 14

Current Research and the History of Thule Archaeology in Arctic Canada

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Abstract
The questions posed by archaeologists studying the Thule culture of the Canadian Arctic have changed over seven decades of research, due both to the gradual accumulation of excavation data from this vast area, and to changes in theory and method within archaeology generally. What is perhaps less evident, despite archaeologists now having at their disposal an impressive body of data and an arsenal of new theories and methods, is that the techniques employed and the questions asked in the decades following the 1920s are still actively shaping our understanding of the Thule culture and guiding the development of new research questions in the 1990s. This paper documents how certain assumptions and analytical techniques that were absolutely necessary in order to begin research have become firmly embedded into most of what we know about the Thule. By exploring the history of research we can understand some of the strengths and weaknesses of our present picture of Thule prehistory and better direct future research.

Résumé
Les questions posées par des archéologues qui étudient la culture thuléene de l'Arctique Canadienne avaient changées depuis des années 1920, à cause de l'accumulation graduel des données archéologiques et des changements en méthode et théorie archéologique. Mais, quoique les archéologues soient présentement en possession de beaucoup des données archéologiques et de théories et méthodes modernes, les techniques utilisées et les questions posées depuis des années 1920 dirigent les recherches des années 1990. Cet article documente comment des assomptions et techniques absolument nécessaires pour les recherches préliminaires sont présentement fixées fermement dans nos conclusions concernant la culture thuléene. En explorant l'histoire de recherche, nous pouvons identifier les arguments forts et les arguments sans force dans nos conclusions présentes concernant la culture thuléene, et diriger conformément les recherches à l'avenir.

Bringing Back the Past: Historical Perspectives on Canadian Archaeology, edited by P.J. Smith and D. Mitchell. Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, Archaeological Survey of Canada, Mercury Series No. 158, 1998:191–201

Introduction

Archaeologists have been investigating the Thule culture of Alaska, Greenland, and the Canadian Arctic for over 70 years and in that time have managed to accumulate a sizeable body of data and interpretation. For example, it is generally agreed that the development of Thule can be traced back through the Birnirk culture of north-western Alaska to the Punuk, Okvik, and Old Bering Sea cultures that existed in the area of the Bering Strait. From north-western Alaska approximately 1000 years ago, the bearers of the Thule culture spread southward into south-west Alaska and, more dramatically, eastward throughout Arctic Canada all the way to Greenland and Labrador. The resulting widespread Thule population then developed locally into the many Inuit groups eventually encountered by Europeans (e.g., Collins 1937; Dumond 1987; Mathiassen 1927b; Maxwell 1985; McCullough 1989; McGhee 1978;

Morrison 1983; Taylor 1979; Van Stone 1962). However, there is still much that we don't know about Thule culture, a conclusion corroborated by the substantial amount of Thule research presently being done.

This paper has two goals. One is to summarize in a succinct fashion one aspect of Thule culture research in the Eastern Arctic from the 1920s to the present, based on completed (*i.e.*, published) research. The second and principal goal is to show how this particular history of research has shaped our present understanding of the Thule culture in this region. No attempt has been made to include Thule research in Alaska and Siberia simply because the sites in those parts of the Arctic and the issues that researchers working there have addressed have been substantially different.

Research goals

Until comparatively recently, the principal goal of most research into the Thule culture was to establish and refine a basic culture-historical framework. Initially the most pressing question of culture history was simply to establish the relationship between the Thule and the Inuit who occupy the Arctic today: Were all the various Central Eskimo groups descended *in situ* from people of the Thule culture? Conversely, had the ancestors of at least some groups come from the south and replaced the Thule? By the end of the 1960s, when it had become clear that all the various Inuit groups were the direct biological and cultural descendants of the Thule, the most pressing culture-historical questions came to focus on the timing and nature of the Thule migration into the Canadian Arctic, and on the changes that subsequently took place in the Thule culture. These questions are still being addressed.

Archaeologists excavating in the Canadian Arctic and Greenland have usually concentrated almost all their efforts on one type of Thule site: the winter house site. These generally consist of numerous discrete house ruins. Thule winter houses have high archaeological visibility and a proven track record of producing large numbers of well-preserved artifacts and faunal remains, so the investigation of such sites has been very rewarding. Also, specific dwelling structures can be assumed to be single residence units on the basis of ethnographic analogy, facilitating our interpretations. As it happens, much of what archaeologists have proposed concerning all aspects of the Thule culture has been published in the context of major monographs reporting on the excavation of winter house sites. Given the enormous size of the region occupied by the Thule, a logical and useful trend in research over the years was to carry out major excavations in areas not previously studied. Thus, many of the most important published monographs, several of them revised doctoral dissertations, report on excavations carried out in areas whose Thule occupation had not been previously investigated.

1920s

Although various visitors to the Arctic had dug around in archaeological sites and collected artifacts, systematic archaeological research into the Thule culture commenced with the work of Therkel Mathiassen and his associates of the Danish Fifth Thule expedition. From 1922 to 1924 he and various other members of the expedition (but primarily Mathiassen himself) carried out extensive excavations at five sites. The Naujan site is located at the head of Repulse Bay on the north-west coast of Hudson Bay. It consists of 20 winter houses in five clusters, of which seven undisturbed and five disturbed houses were excavated along with approximately 60 square metres of midden and 50 graves (Mathiassen 1927a:6–102). The Kuk site is located at the north end of Southampton Island. Its 22 winter houses, of which 11 were excavated, are located in three main clusters. Seventy-six square metres of midden were also excavated there (Mathiassen 1927a:223–58). The sites of Qilalukan and Mitimatalik are located on northern Baffin Island near Pond Inlet. At Mitimatalik, one of the two winter houses present was excavated. The Qilalukan site consists of 18 winter houses and six autumn houses in at least six clusters; four winter houses and three areas of midden deposit were excavated

(Mathiassen 1927a:133–99). At the Malerualik site on the south coast of King William Island 13 winter houses were excavated of the 68 present in four clusters (Mathiassen 1927a:305–21).

In his analysis of these data Mathiassen (1927b) first defined the artifact types that he believed characteristic of the Thule culture. He then discussed their spatial and temporal distribution, drawing on his own data and archaeological and ethnographic information from Greenland, Labrador, the Western Canadian Arctic, Alaska, and Siberia. Based on this analysis, Mathiassen (1927b:182–92) correctly concluded that the Thule culture, which he viewed as coastal-adapted, originated around the shores of Alaska and Siberia north of the Bering Strait and subsequently spread eastwards by migration all the way to Greenland. However, he also concluded, erroneously as later research would show, that the Thule population was eventually displaced in some areas by population movements out of the interior and that these later populations contributed more than the Thule to historic Inuit culture.

1930s–1950s

During the mid 1930s and again in the mid 1940s, Erik Holtved carried out extensive excavations in the Thule District of north-west Greenland. Although published separately (Holtved 1944a; 1944b; 1954), the research was intended to form a coherent whole and will be described as such. The overall goal of the study was to investigate systematically the archaeology of that part of Greenland, an area that had received very little archaeological attention (despite the fact that it had contributed the name to the Thule culture and seen its first significant excavation: Comer's Midden).

Holtved excavated at eight separate Thule culture winter house sites. In the following list the site's name is followed by the number of houses excavated and the number of houses present: Cape Kent (8/8); Cape Russell (2/3); Inuarfigssuaq (28/29); Ruin Island (7/7); Aunartoq (11/11); Aunartoq koroq (4/4); Umanaq (20/26); Nugdlit (30/53) (Holtved 1944a:15–144; 1954:7–44). Thus, of the 141 winter houses present at the eight sites, fully 110 were excavated. In addition, nine structures identified as possible summer dwellings were excavated at the Nugdlit site (Holtved 1954:45–9, 60) and extensive areas of two large middens were excavated at the Umanaq site (Holtved 1944a:144–9; 1954:107).

Holtved's analysis of this mass of data was based on a trait-list approach. He employed this method to group the sites chronologically so that the occupation of this part of Greenland could be divided into periods and its culture history defined. One of his basic conclusions regarding culture history has been disproved (Jordan 1979; McCullough 1989:257–8) but the extent of his excavations and the detail contained in his publications remain impressive.

Between 1948 and 1953 Henry Collins carried out excavations at Thule sites located at the head of Frobisher Bay, Baffin Island, and at Resolute on Cornwallis Island. While he published only preliminary reports on these excavations (Collins 1950; 1951; 1952; 1955), two of the sites (M1 and Crystal II) appear to have been utilized early in the Thule occupation of the Canadian Arctic so these sites and Collins' preliminary reports tend to figure prominently in discussions of Thule culture history.

1960s–1970s

The late 1960s and early 1970s saw three important projects that resulted in major monographs. Robert McGhee's Ph.D research, the fieldwork for which was carried out in 1966 and 1968, was an attempt to obtain and evaluate archaeological data that could finally resolve one of the most contentious questions in the study of Arctic peoples: Where and how did Eskimo cultures originate? By the time of McGhee's research one question remained at issue due to the scarcity of pertinent archaeological data: Were all the various Central Eskimo groups descended *in situ* from people of the Thule culture or had the ancestors of some groups, especially the Copper Inuit, come from the south-east and replaced the Thule who had lived there previously (McGhee 1972:3)? The evidence that

had been used by various researchers to support these competing hypotheses came largely from comparisons of the distribution of cultural, linguistic, and biological traits. McGhee (1972:6–20) began his report by briefly reviewing and re-evaluating these data and concluded that all of them were consistent with a Thule origin for the Copper Inuit — none were indicative of a population replacement from the south. He then used the balance of the monograph to report the results of his archaeological investigations at six sites, all but one of them on Victoria Island. Four sites provided almost all of McGhee's data: Bloody Falls on the Coppermine River and three sites on Victoria Island: Memorana, Nichol, and Kunana. At the Bloody Falls site he excavated two of five winter houses while at Memorana all four winter houses were dug. At the Nichol site he excavated two of three semi-subterranean houses whereas at Kunana most or all of the 31 tent rings of various kinds appear to have been investigated (McGhee 1972:23, 39, 58, 71).

Based on his analysis of the data from these sites, McGhee concluded that Bloody Falls and Memorana were occupied during the Thule period, Kunana during the Early Historic period, and Nichol during an "Intermediate" period. In the final part of the monograph, McGhee showed that these archaeological data were also consistent with a Thule origin for the Copper Inuit. He summarized the specific evidence for continuity but also for change in structures, artifacts, subsistence, and social organization among these three phases. He finished by attempting to determine the probable cause for the changes, concluding that climatic alteration was the most likely.

Allen McCartney's Ph.D research into the Thule occupations along the north-west coast of Hudson Bay was based on fieldwork carried out during the summers of 1968 and 1969. The goals of his research were to study the essentially unknown Thule occupation south of the area around Repulse Bay that had been investigated over 40 years earlier by Mathiassen, and to complement physical anthropological work being done on human remains excavated from burial cairns in that area (McCartney 1977:2–5). Excavations were carried out at three sites: Silumiut, where seven of the 28 winter houses present were excavated along with several middens; Kamarvik, where two of the 16 winter houses were excavated; and Igluligardjuk where one of the 18 winter houses was excavated. Other features at these sites, including burial cairns, meat caches, various types of tent rings, and a dancing house were also studied (McCartney 1977:36–196). His analysis of the artifacts, along with four radiocarbon dates, led him to conclude that the occupations of these sites were contemporaneous with or slightly later than Mathiassen's Naujan site. McCartney concluded his report by summarizing his specific findings and by pointing out the problems with dating Thule sites as well as the need for further survey work to determine the nature and extent of Thule occupations in this part of Hudson Bay (McCartney 1977:329–31).

Peter Schledermann's dissertation research in the Cumberland Sound area of eastern Baffin Island was undertaken with three main goals: (1) to determine the time period and probable route of the initial Thule movement into that area; (2) to detect any population movements or diffusion of traits into the area subsequent to that initial movement; and (3) to study the type and intensity of cultural changes prior to the year 1850, which saw the establishment of whaling stations in the region (Schledermann 1975:17). To achieve these goals, Schledermann (1975:15, 17, 37–71) conducted survey and excavations at the head and along the north shore of Cumberland Sound during the summers of 1971, 1972, and 1973, locating and mapping 18 pre-contact and contact Thule winter house sites that contained a total of 195 winter houses and ranged in size from five to 19 houses. Many other structures were also recorded and examined, including tent rings, caches, fox traps, kayak and *umiak* supports, stone outlines of kayaks and *umiaks*, hunting blinds, and burial cairns. Three sites were intensively excavated: site A1, where three of the 15 winter houses and one midden were excavated; site B1, where three middens and four of the 15 houses present were completely excavated and three were tested; and site Q, where nine of 16 houses and their associated middens were investigated (Schledermann 1975:55, 66–8, 71).

With regard to his first goal, Schledermann (1975:240–47) used radiocarbon dates and harpoon head styles to conclude that the first major Thule occupation in Cumberland Sound occurred around AD 1350. Turning to the second and third goals, Schledermann (1975:248–53) identified an apparent hiatus in the occupation of the region between AD 1650 and 1700 based on stratigraphic data. And by correlating palaeoclimatic data with the varying quantities of baleen and seal bones in the midden deposits, he argued that the gradual onset of colder conditions starting in the thirteenth century produced a decline in whaling by the Thule and other changes in settlement pattern that were reflected in changing winter house styles (Schledermann 1975:253–71; 1976).

1970s–1980s

In his Ph.D dissertation, David Morrison (1983) reported on the 1979, 1980, and 1981 excavations of three Thule sites located on the mainland coast at the western end of Coronation Gulf. The Clachan site consists of three winter houses in a tight cluster — all were excavated along with most of an associated midden (Morrison 1983:47, 49). The Nuvuk site is made up of just two winter houses, one of which was excavated (Morrison 1983:62, 64), while the Beulah site consists of twelve winter houses in two distinct clusters. Excavations here were undertaken only in two areas of midden associated with a single house (Morrison 1983:68, 72).

Morrison's research had two goals. The first was to investigate the culture history of the Thule occupations in the Coronation Gulf area and to chronicle the local development of Thule. The existence of a possible regional variant of Thule could be examined and, given that this region may have represented a migration route for the Thule from Alaska into the Canadian Arctic, new light could be shed on the nature and timing of that migration. The explicitly secondary goal of the research was to study Thule subsistence patterns in the area (Morrison 1983:42). With respect to his first goal, a comparison of the three assemblages led Morrison (1983:199–209) to conclude that the sites are essentially similar to one another but collectively represent a distinctive regional manifestation of the Thule culture. Morrison compared this variant with eastern and western Thule assemblages and on that basis concluded that stylistically these sites are much more closely related to western Thule than to the eastern variety (Morrison 1983:211).

Robert McGhee's 1976, 1979, and 1980 excavations at Brooman Point on the east coast of Bathurst Island were undertaken with the primary goal of investigating the nature of the occupation of this moderately-sized and well-preserved Thule winter site and on that basis to make inferences about the society and way of life of the Thule (McGhee 1984:2). The Brooman Point site consists of 20 winter houses, 10 of which were excavated. Based on the factors of house construction, stylistic resemblance to house types at other sites, estimated degree of flagstone and whalebone removal, and stratigraphy (some dwellings being partly constructed on the remains of earlier ones) McGhee (1984:12–40, 77–8) grouped the houses into five types, three or possibly four of which he inferred to be temporally successive styles.

Despite the disparate house styles at the Brooman Point site, the apparent uniformity of the artifact styles led McGhee (1984:79, 85–6) to conclude that the total occupation of the site may have spanned as little as one or two decades. From this analysis and based on the size of the winter houses, he inferred that between 15 and 30 people would have lived at Brooman Point during any given winter while the site was occupied. Based on comparisons with ethnographically-known Inuit groups, he saw the historic era Labrador Inuit as the best analogue for this type of small winter community (McGhee 1984:80–84) but, because he believed that such a small group could not have hunted Bowhead whales successfully, he argued that the people who lived at Brooman Point must have formed part of a larger social group that assembled in the late summer and autumn for whaling but wintered separately. In an attempt to identify this larger social group from the available archaeological data, he tentatively grouped many of the known Thule sites in the Canadian Arctic into five geographical and temporal

"phases" of Thule culture (McGhee 1984:87–92).

For her Ph.D. research Karen McCullough investigated the Ruin Island phase of the Thule culture. Her study was based on excavations carried out between 1978 and 1982 at four sites in the Bache Peninsula region of central Ellesmere Island. At the Skraeling Island site all 23 winter houses were excavated, as were seven of the eight houses present at the Thule Meadows site. At the 20-house Sverdrup site five were excavated, and at the Eskimobyen site the only two Ruin Island phase houses of the 27 houses present were excavated (McCullough 1989:19, 22, 69, 74, 78). A major goal of McCullough's research was to establish the chronological position of the Ruin Island phase and to determine its relationship to other Neo-Eskimo (*i.e.*, Thule and Historic) cultures (McCullough 1989:14). The Ruin Island phase had originally been defined by Erik Holtved (1954:106) following his excavations at the Ruin Island and Nugdlit sites in Northwest Greenland. Holtved concluded that Ruin Island was intermediate between Early and Late Thule at about AD 1300 and represented Punuk culture immigrants from Alaska. This chronological and cultural placement of Ruin Island had subsequently been challenged (*e.g.*, Jordan 1979) and McCullough's work was intended to resolve this issue.

In McCullough's research, the chronological position of Ruin Island was established by a series of 17 radiocarbon dates which all centre around AD 1200 (McCullough 1989:240–41). Its origin and relationship to other Neo-Eskimo cultures was then examined using a trait list approach, leading her to the conclusion that Ruin Island was most likely derived from Western Thule rather than from Punuk or Birnirk (McCullough 1989:254). Based on data from other Thule sites in the Canadian Arctic, this led McCullough (1989:256–7) to propose that two separate Thule migrations from Alaska took place: the first from North Alaska into the Lancaster Sound area and the second, producing Ruin Island, from Western Alaska into Northern Ellesmere Island and Greenland.

George Sabo's Ph.D. research was designed to gain an understanding of long-term changes in adaptation on southern Baffin Island, an area which appears to have been continuously occupied from the time of the arrival of the Thule until the Historic period. Sabo's research involved archaeological excavations in 1977, 1978, and 1979 at three Thule sites near Lake Harbour. At the Okivilialuk site, portions of two Thule winter houses were excavated of the 14 present. At the 15–house Talaguak site, five houses were investigated while at the Itinapik site, one of five winter houses was excavated (Sabo 1991:83–7). The first half of Sabo's report consists of a detailed description of the area's environment and of Inuit adaptations to that environment in the Historic period. Using that information, Sabo developed a general model of Inuit adaptation in Southern Baffin Island and, from that model, attempted to generate predictions concerning human responses to various kinds and rates of environmental change. In the second half of his report Sabo presented and interpreted his archaeological data. He organized the presentation by assigning each excavated house/component to either the Classic Thule, Developed Thule, or Historic phase. The data from each phase are presented together, followed by a summary of the characteristics of the phase. For each house Sabo determined the settlement type based on artifact and architectural styles and determined resource procurement by comparing the types of artifacts and faunal remains associated with it. The artifact data were summarized by functional class in order to determine which "resource procurement systems" were represented. Detailed descriptions of the artifacts were relegated to an appendix.

In the conclusion of the report, Sabo examined the nature of adaptations during each of the three phases and compared this information with the history of environmental changes during the entire period and with the predictions generated in the first half of the report. He concluded that the subsistence-settlement system changes that took place in the Thule culture appear to "follow closely the general pattern of environmental changes affecting the economic potential of marine and tundra habitats during the past millennium" (Sabo 1991:141).

Presentation of data

Having thus summarized the fieldwork that resulted in major published site reports and the types of issues they addressed, I want to turn to the reports themselves. Significantly, I believe, the format Mathiassen used in the 1920s to present his data has been followed to some extent in almost every major Thule site report. For each site, Mathiassen described every house ruin separately. However, the bulk of his report focused on the artifacts. Mathiassen described the *entire* artifact collection from each site (*i.e.*, an amalgamated assemblage containing all the artifacts from *all* the houses) organized into functional classes which are subdivided into functional types (*e.g., class:* "Means of Conveyance;" *types:* "Sledge Shoes," "Trace Buckles," "Kayak paddles"). In the illustrations, the artifacts are grouped by functional type (i.e., all the harpoon heads from the site are shown together). In other words, Mathiassen presented his data as *site assemblages* — the artifacts from all the houses at a site were lumped together. In the analytical, interpretative part of his report, Mathiassen made comparisons *between sites* on the basis of comparisons of functional types. Thus, almost everything found at each site, from the houses themselves to the smallest artifact, was described individually but comparisons were made collectively — the sum total of the things found at one site was compared with a similarly-constituted assemblage from another site.

In Thule research the widespread use of Mathiassen's format has proved extremely convenient for researchers because if one excavates an unusual harpoon head it is very easy to flip to the harpoon head section in published site reports to find out if similar ones have been found at other sites. This format also facilitates the comparison of entire sites, since the artifacts are presented as site assemblages. As Figure 1 illustrates, archaeologists have had to compare sites widely scattered throughout a huge region — thinking in terms of site assemblages obviously facilitated those grand kinds of comparisons. These benefits help explain why almost all Thule site reports continue to follow this format.

In hindsight, however, the use of this particular format may also have carried with it a cost. This format is based on a usually implicit assumption: that there should not be appreciable differences in the ages of houses at a single site, nor should there be differences in the nature of the occupation of houses at a single site. If one is mixing together the artifacts from different houses you are assuming that those houses were quite similar to each other in all important ways. This was without question a cautious and reasonable assumption for research trying to establish the broad sweep of culture history within the vast area occupied by the Thule. For many years the degree to which Thule winter "villages" were homogeneous units had little bearing on the types of inferences that we were trying to make, such as assessing the cultural and chronological relationships between sites. But by the late 1970s and early 1980s the culture history was becoming reasonably well understood and researchers increasingly started asking other, quite different questions. In attempting to answer these questions, however, we continued to use the assumption that had underlain the culture historical research and which we had never attempted to test.

An example can be found in another major Thule research project dating to the 1980s. In that research James Savelle took an innovative approach to studying the Thule culture. Employing extensive foot and helicopter surveys of parts of Somerset and King William Islands and the Boothia and Adelaide Peninsulas in the summers of 1980, 1981, and 1982, he compiled a data base covering the quantity, distribution, and types of structures present at 401 site components spanning Thule through to Historic times. The age that he assigned to each site component was based primarily on the degree of lichen development on above-ground stone features, along with a small number of radiocarbon dates. Each site component was placed in one of five age categories: early Classic Thule, late Classic Thule, Modified Thule, early Historic, or late Historic (Savelle 1987:52, 98–100). He also collected information on the Bowhead whale bones at these sites and, through very lim-

Figure 1. Thule sites producing major site reports.
1920s: 1 Naujan; 2 Kuk; 3 Mitimatalik, Qilalukan; 4 Malerualik (Mathiassen 1927a).
1930s–1950s: 5 Thule district sites (Holtved 1944a; 1944b; 1954); 6 Crystal II; 7 M1 (Collins 1950, 1951, 1952, 1955).
1960s–1970s: 8 Bloody Falls; 9 Memorana, Nichol, Kunana (McGhee 1972); 10 Silumiut, Kamarvik, Igluligardjuk (McCartney 1977); 11 A1, B1, Q (Schledermann 1975).
1970s–1980s: 12 Clachan, Nuvuk, Beulah (Morrison 1983); 13 Brooman Point (McGhee 1984); 14 Skraeling Island, Thule Meadows, Eskimobyen (McCullough 1989); 15 Okivilialuk, Talaguak, Itinapik (Sabo 1991).

ited test excavations, information on the use of other species (Savelle 1987:94, 98).

In his analysis of these data, Savelle looked at (a) changes in types of Thule sites over time; (b) changes in community size over time; and (c) changes in subsistence over time. To explore these issues on the basis of limited excavation data, Savelle, in an admirably explicit way, stated two assumptions: First, that "Historically, there is little reason to suggest probable significant differences in contemporary subsistence practices between members of any given residential group," and therefore, that "...the complete excavation of a dwelling and associated midden should, at least for comparative purposes, provide a close approximation of the remains at contemporary dwellings" (Savelle 1987:91). This permitted his use of a research strategy involving minimal excavation at any one site. Second, Savelle (1987:229) explicitly assumed that 80% of the winter houses at any site would have been occupied contemporaneously. The sites being studied contained between 6 and 39 houses so this assumption meant that, at a site with 6 houses, 5 should have been occupied concurrently, while at a site with 39 houses 31 of them should have been occupied at the same time. By making this assumption he was able to compare *community sizes* simply by comparing the *number of houses* at the sites, even when no excavations had been done to assess independently which houses might have been contemporaneous. He concluded that site size and therefore population fell over time — but because of his second assumption he didn't need to consider the possibility that if sites were re-used over time and old houses were gradually abandoned and new ones constructed, then older sites would end up containing more structures than younger ones even if the resident population remained consistently small.

From my point of view, one of the things I think is so interesting about this research is that it is based, *explicitly*, on the same assumption that is implicit in earlier research: essentially, that Thule sites represent large and internally undifferentiated communities and therefore are comparable in and of themselves — significant intrasite variability should not exist. This assumption *may* prove to be true in general but in over 70 years of research the only published attempt to test it, Robert McGhee's research at the Brooman Point site, found, based on his analysis of stratigraphy and house architecture, that this assumption was false — he concluded that only a few of the 20 houses at Brooman Point would have been occupied during any given winter (McGhee 1984:80–84).

Because so many sites, and so many houses at those sites, have been excavated over the last 70 years, it seems we should have a good understanding of the internal structure, and the social and demographic nature, of individual Thule winter sites. However, because of the particular questions that we have focused on, there are only two levels of analysis that we are good at: the comparison of individual artifact types, and the comparison of entire sites. Basically, despite excavating so many Thule sites so thoroughly, we have not paid very much attention to intrasite differences. Such differences could arise either because a site was created over a long period of time, or due to differences within a community. Ethnographic accounts traditionally emphasize what people *normally* do rather than documenting diversity but my reading of ethnographic data from the Arctic and elsewhere suggests that interesting variability in Inuit settlement patterns and behaviour certainly could occur *between* households (*e.g.*, Damas 1969:47; Freeman 1988:158). Therefore, Thule archaeology may need to get away from analyses carried out solely at the level of sites, using amalgamated collections, and explore the potential of analyses carried out on an intrasite level, utilizing smaller analytical units such as household assemblages.

Discussion

My principal goal in this paper has been to demonstrate that at least one aspect of our present understanding of and approach to the Thule culture is a product of the particular historical development of research into that culture. Due to the huge region involved and the difficulties of doing fieldwork there, Thule research has for

the most part been exploratory, investigating large blank areas on the map and trying to fit widely scattered data into a coherent geographical and chronological picture. The amalgamation approach, working almost exclusively at the levels of artifacts and of sites, was adopted in the early decades of research because it was useful for dealing with those kinds of culture-historical problems. But we need to become aware of how much that approach still underlies everything we now "know" about Thule culture, and to ask ourselves whether it is still appropriate for the other kinds of analyses being attempted today. The continuing practice of reporting *as a single assemblage* all the artifacts from all the houses excavated at a site makes it very difficult to compare individual house assemblages, and that has, in my opinion, both *reflected* and *shaped* our preference for comparing sites or comparing individual artifact types, rather than working at intermediate levels of analysis such as the comparison of individual houses and house assemblages. Thus, I believe that the basic history of research into the Thule culture has contributed as much as the data themselves to our present understanding of Thule.

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Chapter 15

Nationalism and the Growth of Fur Trade Archaeology in Western Canada

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Abstract

The growth of fur trade archaeology in western Canada can be attributed to political and cultural forces involved in the search and creation of a Canadian identity. The historical roots of the field can be traced to the historic sites commemoration and development movement of the late 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. Fur trade archaeology provided the tangible authentic evidence for a link between the present and the past which served to legitimize Euro-Canadian expansion by presenting it as a natural common-sense occurrence.

Résumé

La croissance de l'archéologie de la traite des fourrures dans l'Ouest canadien peut être attribuée à des forces politiques et culturelles qui ont contribué à la recherche et à la création d'une identité canadienne. Ce type d'archéologie tire ses fondements du mouvement de commémoration et d'aménagement des lieux historiques, qui a marqué la fin des années 1950 et s'est poursuivi jusque dans les années 1970. L'archéologie de la traite des fourrures témoigne de façon concrète et authentique du lien entre le présent et le passé, lien qui a servi à légitimer l'expansion euro-canadienne en la présentant comme un phénomène naturel et sensé.

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Taylor's (1990:47) study of the National Historic Sites and Monument Board, created in 1919, revealed that this group believed historic sites played a useful moral function "in helping to civilize a raw and materialist society" and saw themselves as an educated élite whose duty it was to impart proper values of patriotism, duty, self-sacrifice, and spiritual devotion to young and new Canadians and members of the lower orders of society (Taylor 1990:47).

For A.S. Morton, the famous western fur trade historian, fur trade posts, particularly those of the Hudson's Bay Company, represented the birthplace of national (British) qualities: those of understanding, tolerance and mutual appreciation among races. Accordingly, by preserving or restoring these posts Morton believed one was "preserving the symbols of honour and fair play upon which the West had been built" (Champ 1991:41). To Morton, geography and the discovery of tangible historic evidence was important and from the 1920s to the 1940s he ventured into the field (Figure 1) or encouraged students and colleagues such as the prominent western historian Grant MacEwan, to locate fur trade sites.

Such nationalistic views played a crucial role in the rise of fur trade archaeology in western Canada, which for purposes of this study encompasses north-western Ontario, the prairie provinces and north-eastern British Columbia (Figure 2). To understand the production of social knowledge and identify whose interests it serves, the social, cultural and political con-

Figure 1. A.S. Morton (right) standing with William Bushfield at the remains believed to be those of François Leblanc and James Finlay, near Nipawin, Saskatchewan, May 1943. Photograph courtesy of the University of Saskatchewan Archives, Item number A-6071.

texts must be examined within a historical perspective. This paper outlines events which promoted and led to the growth of fur trade archaeology in western Canada and how the practice of archaeology fit into the growth of a nation and the prevailing ideology.

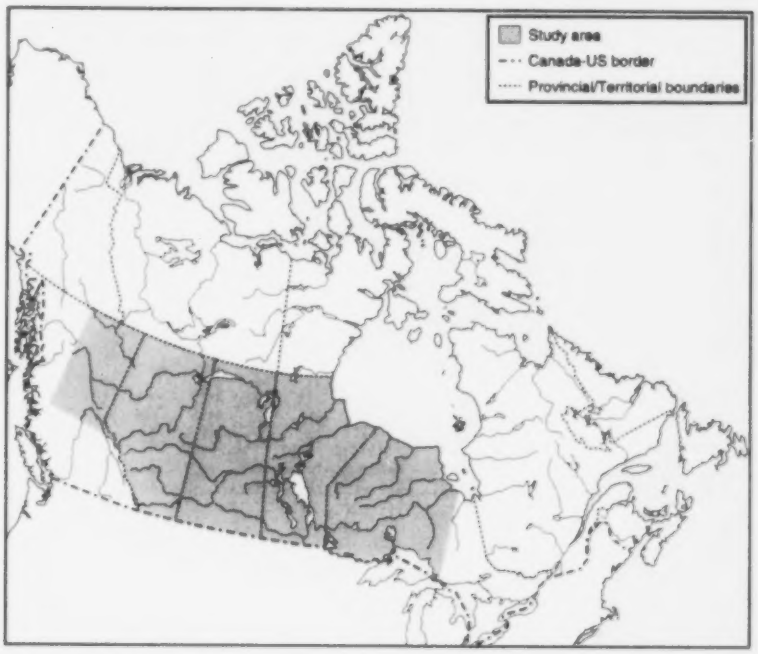

Figure 2. Study area in Western Canada.

Political and Social Parameters

The early efforts of the Historic Sites and Monument Board and Morton's ventures in the field did not lead to major archaeological investigations at fur trade sites in the first half of the 20th century. The Board concerned itself with questions of national significance and the commemoration of selected sites, but not site development (Taylor 1990:xvi). The Board identified a number of themes for Canada. These included French and English settlement, the loyalist defence of Upper Canada, and discovery and exploration. The latter set the tone for sites chosen in western Canada where sites commemorating exploration and the fur trade predominated (Klimko 1994:168). The fur trade was seen as symbolizing the opening of the west and defining its geopolitical boundaries (Taylor and Payne 1992).

The Board was content with commemorating sites by placing a bronze plaque with a short narrative on the wall of existing structures, or on a specifically built cairn (Fry 1986:38). Commemoration continued as the primary focus of the national historic sites programme in the 1930s and 1940s, although preservation and heritage development began gaining greater public interest (Taylor 1990:103). The western provincial heritage agencies followed a similar commemoration programme.

Another important event which happened in the 1950s was formation of the Massey Commission which had as its task, investigating the role federal agencies could play in promoting Canadian history, traditions, national life and common achievements. This eventually affected the growth of fur trade archaeology. The report stated that if the government took charge and provided adequate funding and a comprehensive policy, the "precarious state" of Canadian culture as indicated in its findings would change for the better (Taylor 1990:132). The importance for historic sites according to Taylor (1990:133) rested in two areas: the need for a unifying national heritage, which the Commission identified with the commemorative work of the National Historic Sites and Monuments Board; and

secondly, in what appeared to be a contradiction of the first, the concern with special interest groups and their demand for greater regional expression and an emphasis on architectural preservation. As a result the views of local heritage groups gained in importance and this led to greater regional expression in sites considered and also to a greater emphasis on interpretation and architectural preservation (Friesen 1990a:194). The development of historic sites and the implementation of historic sites policy fell on the Parks Branch whose involvement increased dramatically.

The importance of this commission, the commemorative work done by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board, and the increased involvement of the Parks Branch to western fur trade archaeology lay in the fact that fur trade forts figured prominently because as Taylor (1990:137) notes "they were physically imposing and attracted widespread public attention." However, it was not until the 1960s that fur trade archaeology entered the scene as a major component in the Parks Branch.

J.D. Herbert, who became head of research in the National Parks and Historic Sites division in 1959, hired an archaeologist, John Rick, in 1961, effectively bringing archaeology onto the heritage scene (Taylor 1990:142; Rick 1970:10). Herbert previously had been involved with heritage concerns in Saskatchewan where he primarily encouraged avocational archaeological pursuits at Amisk Lake in northern Saskatchewan, and in Alberta where he supported major excavations at Rocky Mountain House. Herbert promoted the concept of a "living museum" which dealt with the exact reconstruction of a house or fort at a given period (Taylor 1990:146). Thus archaeology entered the picture not only as the "hand maiden to history," filling in the "lacunae" in the historic record (Pyszczyk 1989:7), but also took on a "mission-oriented" approach as support for restoration projects and development programmes (Swannack 1975; Burley 1994:82). Archaeology's purpose was to identify sites, locate structures, and recover artifacts (Fry 1986:38); thereby lending an aura of authenticity to whatever interpretation programme was chosen, be it the technological, economic, or social aspects of the fur trade.

Most of the restoration or reconstruction projects took place in the 1960s and 1970s during an optimistic era of centennials and celebrations. This was the era of the big project. During this time the Parks Branch undertook a number of large developments and archaeology expanded in response to the needs of the department. Federal agencies such as the Historic Sites Board and provincial counterparts such as the Manitoba Historic Sites Advisory Board (Friesen 1990b:214) or Historical Society of Alberta (Rasmussen 1990:241), had identified sites for commemoration and chosen a number for reconstruction or restoration activities, based on nationalist and tourist or economic concerns. Most were large centres such as Lower Fort Garry chosen for a variety of reasons — the least being their representation of the fur trade. During this era, Parks Canada work progressed at three fur trade posts — restoration and reconstruction work at Lower Fort Garry near Winnipeg, at Fort St. James in north-central British Columbia, and initial development at Rocky Mountain House in Alberta (Klimko 1994:170). This proliferation of work and the subsequent increase of staff in the Parks Branch during the 1970s led to its decentralization with the creation of five regional offices in Halifax, Québec, Cornwall, Winnipeg, and Calgary.

Large archaeological projects in the provinces during the 1960s and 1970s took place at Fort William in north-western Ontario, at Fort Carlton, Last Mountain House and Fort Pelly in Saskatchewan, at Fort George, Fort White Earth and Fort Victoria in Alberta, and in Manitoba preliminary studies began on Fort Ellice (Klimko 1994:171). From a regional perspective these projects served to give depth and meaning to local areas by revealing that not all history occurred in Eastern Canada. In this climate archaeological work also was initiated at many smaller fur trade posts leading to the proliferation (Figure 3) of fur trade studies recorded for the 1960s and 1970s (Klimko 1994:171).

The large projects, on both the federal and provincial levels, may be seen as reflecting the attitudes and aspirations of Canadian society. In the 1960s, despite approaching its centenary, Canada was experiencing what Cook (1971:24) termed as its "adolescent identity crisis." The

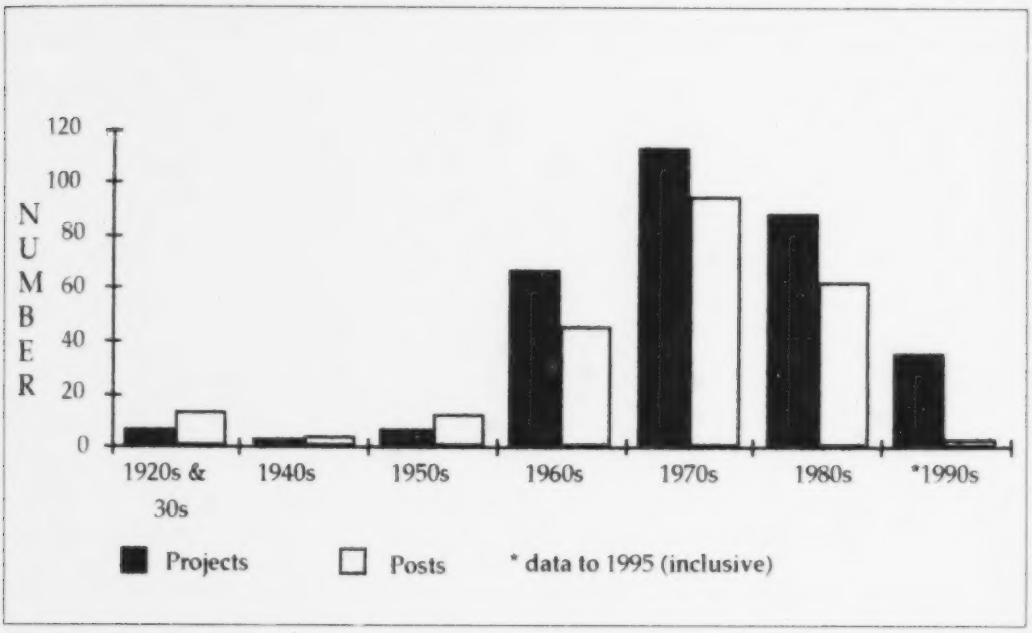

Figure 3. Number of fur trade projects carried out versus number of posts investigated by decade.

provinces were challenging Ottawa's ascendancy, French-Canadian nationalism threatened to divide the country and American infiltration was creeping into every aspect of Canadian life (Cook 1971:24; Shouldice 1985:271). The reinforcement of national sovereignty through a process of cultural and political self-assertion represented one response to these threats. Fur trade post remains served as tangible historiography which visibly proclaimed recollected knowledge and common traditions with "a broad contemporary public purpose" (Friesen 1990a:193; Connerton 1989:3) — that of promoting Canada's achievements albeit biased to the European contact period (Smith 1982:51). This promotion led to the 1960s and 1970s being viewed as a period of economic prosperity, growth, change, and hope, in which science and technology appeared to hold the keys to a better future (Fry 1986:41). In the archaeological community "new archaeology" or processualism appeared at this time, paralleling this time of change.

Authenticity provided by archaeology, plays a crucial role in reconstruction and restoration which became avenues for establishing a direct emotional link between the present and the past — they make the past tangible (Schuyler 1976:33; Lowenthal 1975:106) and helped in developing cultural self-assertion. The visual impact of a reconstruction helps provide a vivid immediacy that assures a past really existed and produces an affecting presence concerned with potency, emotions, values, and states of being or experience (Armstrong 1971:4). Reconstructions, such as fur trade posts, represent a class of things which produce an affect — a feeling — a symbolic link with our past. Archaeology becomes the vehicle for providing information and lending authenticity and begins the process of making the past tangible. Early examples of reaching out to touch and experience the past more directly include the ventures of J.B. Tyrrell, an eminent western geologist, who in the 1880s and 1890s travelled the routes and visited the camps of fur-trader and surveyor David

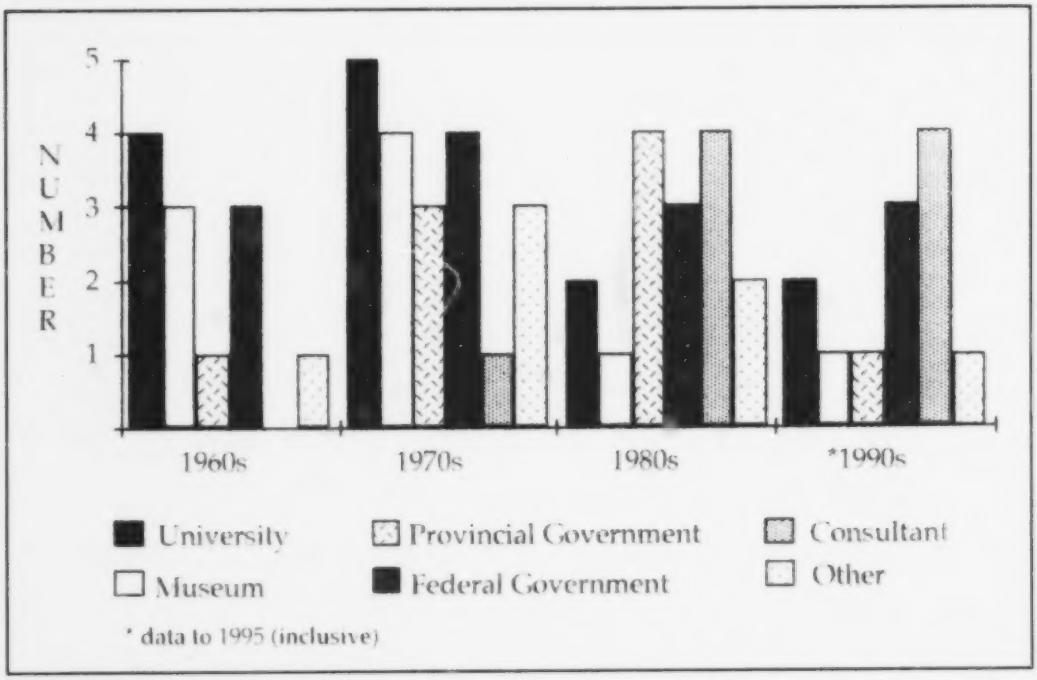

Figure 4. Number of agencies or institutions involved in fur trade archaeology by decade.

Thompson, and Morton's investigations in the 1920s and 1930s of fur trade posts in the prairie provinces (Champ 1991).

More recent attempts to capture this authentic feeling or experience of the past involve living history museums incorporating reconstructed or restored buildings accompanied with "animation" which might have people dressed in period costumes or carrying out tasks attributed to the residents of the place at a given time (Taylor 1990:147; Taylor and Payne 1992). In other words, it is the "simulation of life in another time" (Anderson 1985:3). Herbert strongly promoted this concept in the 1950s and 1960s. While archaeology is used to provide accuracy for authentic reconstruction and artifact replication, Leone (1981, 1983) and Handler (1987) warn, however, that the living museums are more about the present than the past and "shot through with the sentiments and motivations of modern culture." Basically unreflective, these living museums do not encourage participants to question the values being presented which unconsciously reflect those of the present (Handler 1987:341). Often archaeological findings are disregarded in favour of other interpretations chosen by officials (Leone 1981:8) and while the archaeologist is concerned with scientific rigour and accuracy, the public is interested in a story to be interpreted.

The economic hardships of the 1980s gave rise, on both the federal and provincial level, to government restriction. The era of the big project came to an end and heritage developments and fur trade archaeological studies began to decline in size and number (Figure 3). Whereas museums and other government agencies carried out the bulk of the work in the preceding two decades, private consultants have taken on more of the work in the 1980s and 1990s (Figure 4). This is due to Provincial heritage legislation which requires developers to implement mitigation measures before site destruction. Also Parks Canada has devoted its attention to site management rather than site development.

Nationalism

Ideology

The growth of fur trade archaeology in the 1960s and 1970s can be attributed to the growth of nationalist pride. By providing authentic, tangible evidence that a past existed, as well as information needed for reconstructions or restorations, fur trade archaeology served to create a cultural identity and enforce values. What was the prevalent ideology which fur trade archaeology promoted and whose interests did it serve?

Early interest existed in fur trade sites as noted in Tyrrell's late 1880s exploits, but it increased dramatically in the first half of the 20th century, when the National Historic Sites and Monuments Board, as well as individuals such as A.S. Morton associated the process of civilization with the fur trade and viewed it as a first step in the natural, evolutionary progress of civilization via scientific and economic means (Klimko 1994:192). This theme also appears in early historic works, such as those by Harold A. Innis (1956) who focussed on the development of European commerce and E.E. Rich (1958) who documented the history of the Hudson's Bay Company as a founding Canadian institution.

The view of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board follows in the tradition of Victorian science wherein the natural was identified with the rational and the usefulness of science was emphasized (Zeller 1987:4). This gave rise to the "geographical" tradition wherein the main purpose was to explore and exploit new lands throughout the world to increase and diffuse knowledge. Inventory science became the common purpose and highlighted the mapping and cataloguing of resources and other natural phenomena including culture (Zeller 1987:4). Science provided the means by which an industrial society could dominate the physical surrounding, as well as the ideological framework within which to do it. Inventory science laid out the resources which could be possessed — including culture. Exploration and fur trade became themes associated with western Canada (Taylor 1990) and these fit intricately into this scientific tradition.

The fur trade also established the crucial link with the past needed to legitimate the natural growth of Euro-Canadian, particularly British, expansion in western Canada and hence national growth (Klimko 1994:193). This is aptly demonstrated in the following quote by Innis (1956:401):

> The fur trade permitted the extension of the combination of authority and independence across the northern half of the continent. Moreover, the business structure shifted from the elastic organization characteristic of the Northwest company along the St Lawrence from the Atlantic to the Pacific, to the more permanent organization from Hudson Bay. The diversity of institutions has made possible the combination of government ownership and private enterprise which has been a further characteristic of Canadian development. Canada has remained fundamentally a product of Europe.

The Historic Sites and Monuments Board in its early years was able to maintain this ideology through commemoration and identification of sites of national historic significance. During the 1950s there began a growth of government interest in the sites themselves. With the approach of Canada's centennial and other provincial celebrations and the search for cultural identity during the 1960s, fur trade archaeology experienced exponential growth, setting it upon a path leading to its present condition. Archaeology served to promote EuroCanadian accomplishments such as technological achievements, economic ventures, patriotism and hard work.

Political and Social Forces

Social and political forces also played an important role in shaping fur trade archaeology and its promotion of the national ideology. Trigger (1984) has identified three social contexts — colonialist, nationalist and imperialist — which structure the practise of archaeology. Fur trade archaeology encompasses aspects of both nationalist and colonialist traditions.

The nationalist strategy which seeks to bolster national or ethnic pride by emphasizing accomplishments of the more recent past to support claims of a national heritage through the use of a culture history approach (Trigger 1984:358–60) is evident in the following two aspects of fur trade archaeology. Until the last decade and a half fur trade archaeology was the primary domain of government agencies such as Provincial museums, heritage branches or Parks Canada. Academic involvement was minimal. Non-archaeologists on different heritage boards chose the majority of sites upon which archaeological investigations would centre and research knowledge was a secondary consideration (Klimko 1994:195). Archaeology's purpose was to provide authenticity.

Secondly, in a nationalist tradition the recent past is emphasized to promote the cultural achievements of a dominant class through claims of a national heritage. Commemorations during the 1950s and the 1967 Canadian Centennial promoted the political and cultural accomplishments of Euro-Canadians in taming the west and bringing civilization in the guise of European values. During the 1960s there was a proliferation in fur trade archaeology and these remains provided the proof — a tangible contact with the past — which legitimated the civilizing process as a natural, common-sense occurrence. The fur trade exemplified the first attempts of a rational control over nature through scientific and technical means.

The colonialist tradition denigrates the heritage of conquered peoples and does so through the demonstration of cultural stasis in prehistory. Native people are portrayed as lacking initiative to develop on their own and this justifies their integration or exploitation (Trigger 1984:360-362). In the past the focus of fur trade studies has been on European endeavours, capitalist commerce and courage in a wilderness setting. Native groups, on the other hand, lived a lifeway — as hunters and gatherers — little changed from their earliest ancestor. In this light the introduction of European goods was their enlightenment. If Native peoples are alluded to, it often occurs in the confines of certain specialized Native–White relations, rather than on what was happening among Native people themselves (Brown 1990:17).

Material Culture, Symbols and Nationalism

The creation and maintenance of a nationalist ideology also depends on the manipulation of material culture. Material objects have considerable durability which provides a long term means of controlling meanings (Hodder 1989:71). Physical archaeological remains and fur trade post reconstructions provide the visible link promoting the rational view that the fur trade is the common, natural, and inevitable extension of the European value system. Nations searching or celebrating their identity often use scientific disciplines to find or create a coherence through folklore, oral tradition, history, or archaeology (Leone 1991:236). Governments tend to focus on tangible sets of historic objects, structures, or places because they create the appearance of a known, given past and present "a tangible aura of accuracy" (McGuire 1992:224). In this sense, the fur trade sites or reconstructions become symbols which signify and express this ideology and play an active role in creating and reproducing the ideology (Wurst 1991; Beaudry *et al.* 1991). The reconstructed fur trade posts are visible and constitute part of the built landscape — they represent tangible incarnations of social relationships.

The material goods or artifacts themselves, further contribute to this fur trade drama. Objects and structural remains not only exist in the present they provide an opportunity by which one has a direct sensory experience of surviving historical events (Prown 1988:20). Artifacts provide legitimacy and authenticity through their very numbers, their durability, their age and their context (Shanks 1992:101). These provide the perception that the events they represent are real (Meltzer 1981:119). Also, the visible nature of the material objects including artifacts, archaeological remains, and restorations rapidly and repeatedly communicate information and thereby remove the onus from retaining cultural information entirely in human cognition (Lipe 1984:5; Eighmy 1981:32).

Concluding Remarks

The pasts and monuments of the past have long been used to legitimate authority and to assert

or symbolize nationalist ideologies. The most blatant use and most often cited example is the German National Socialist regime's employment of archaeology to promote Germanic superiority and justification for forceful colonization and domination from 1933 to 1945 (see Arnold 1990; Trigger 1989:163–6; and Härke 1991). Archaeology plays an important role in nation building, self-identity and awareness and is subject to the political, social and economic conditions of the time. Archaeologists need to be aware of how these environments influence the practise and philosophical development of archaeology. These factors ultimately affect the interpretation of data and need to be constantly analysed if objectivity is the desired end, because uses of the past are seldom value neutral. Subjective elements and values formed by ideological tenets constantly influence our thinking. However, Trigger (1990:780) observes some objective knowledge can be achieved, because as Wylie (1993:11) points out, objectivity is a matter of degree and systematic empirical inquiry must try to break the hold of what has come to be accepted as "common sense." The growth of fur trade archaeology in western Canada owes much to its role in promoting the nationalistic view of Euro-Canadian achievements in a wilderness setting.

Acknowledgements

During my research on this topic many people contributed helpful insights, which served to illuminate the complex web of factors involved in the practise of archaeology and I thank them all. I would particularly like to acknowledge Ian Dyck, Scott Hamilton, David Burley, Michael Taft, Alison Wylie, Pamela Smith, Don Mitchell, and Bruce Trigger for their support and candid comments. Shannon Wood graciously offered to computer draft the study area map, while the University of Saskatchewan Archives quickly expedited my last minute request for a photograph. Louise Messier kindly arranged for the translation of the abstract on very short notice.

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Chapter 16

Two Decades of Change: British Columbia Archaeology in the '60s and '70s

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Abstract
After a brief review of its earlier history, archaeology within British Columbia during the 1960s and 1970s is examined more closely. During this period, archaeology is transformed from a primarily academic pursuit to a government sponsored and controlled endeavour. This dramatic shift from academic to bureaucratic archaeology is attributed to developments within archaeology itself — the adoption of techniques and standards that have added greatly to the cost of conducting research — and to political and economic forces external to the discipline.

Résumé
Après une revue brève de l'histoire de l'archaéologie de la Colombie-brittanique avant l'année 1960, la période 1960-1970 est examinée particulièrement à cause de la transformation au contrôle et au parrainages du gouvernement d'une étude académiques. On peut attribuer ce changement dramatique à quelques développements dans l'archaéologie même — on y a adopté des techniques et des dépens qui ont augmenté le coût de la recherche. Il y a maintenant aussi des forces politiques et l'économiques qui ne font pas partie d'habitude d'une étude du sujet de l'archaéologie.

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What follows is an interpretation of two decisive decades in the development of British Columbia archaeology. It is not Official History — that must await more thorough analysis and much greater attention to detail and nuance — but as overview, it is perhaps close enough to the mark. The decades examined are the 1960s and 1970s, years that saw significant shifts in the orientation and conduct of archaeology in British Columbia, and, indeed, throughout North America.

The archaeology of which I write is a scholarly discipline, that at its best shares many characteristics with the sciences. It is a discipline, moreover, capable of serving many masters — because what is distinctive about it is not that it is a separate and specific field of study, but that it possesses unique means of collecting and interpreting information about the past. Data acquired by this distinctive approach are used to solve problems considered important to such academics as anthropologists and historians and to various people interested in the administration and control of archaeological resources.

One of the main points I wish to make is that while through the '60s and '70s, archaeologists in British Columbia served more than one master, during that time, the centre of allegiance shifted noticeably. It was a transformation that effectively separates my two subject decades into the end of a period of academic archaeology and the beginning of a period of bureaucratic archaeology. The change was probably inevitable, was certainly not confined to Brit-

ish Columbia, and was, as we shall see, significantly the product of economic and political forces lying well outside archaeology. By "academic archaeology" is meant an archaeology that is mainly conducted by college or university faculty members and their students or by museum research staff. It is primarily concerned with recording and interpreting the past and commonly focuses on particular problems about the past that may be resolved through examination of archaeological data. The meaning of "bureaucratic archaeology" and ways in which some of its important goals differ from the other will shortly become apparent.

Setting the Scene

To understand these decades and developments, we must begin with a brief look at pre-1960s archaeology in the province. We will skip over such incidents as the first excavations and even ignore some locally prominent investigators to settle on the work of Harlan Smith.

Harlan Smith is the first person we encounter whose work clearly had more than local impact. The results of his survey and excavation at the turn of the century under the auspices of Franz Boas' Jesup North Pacific Expedition (Smith 1899, 1900, 1903, 1907; Smith and Fowke 1901) were widely available in publications of the expedition and there is a demonstrable link between Smith's interpretations and, through Alfred Kroeber's guidance, the Berkeley school of archaeologists of the pre-world War II years — a school which dominated Pacific Northwest archaeology for many years.

Examination of the writings and affiliations of Smith; Strong, Schenck and Steward (1930); Drucker (1943); and de Laguna (1934) (not of this school but more directly a student of Boas) indicates clearly that all then working in the Pacific Northwest were engaged in "academic" archaeology, and that within that context they placed great emphasis on a single problem in prehistory: the roots of the highly distinctive Northwest Coast ethnological pattern. In the fashion of the day, they tackled it by breaking down the archaeological assemblages into traits — characteristics whose individual origins would be traced back to earlier, sometimes geographically distant, assemblages. They were interested in the *sources* of particular forms of points, of stone grinding, of the Northwest Coast art style — those sort of things. Although dealing with very small samples and, in those pre-radioactive carbon years, very poor time control, there was a general willingness to derive the elements of Northwest Coast culture from elsewhere: from the adjacent interior in the case of Smith (1907:430–38), Kroeber (1923:16), and Strong, Schenck, and Steward (1930:145); from the Arctic coast and the interior in the case of Drucker (1943:127–8).

Carl Borden's work, in the postwar years, can be seen as essentially a continuation of the Berkeley school interests and approach. He, too, was concerned with the quest for origins and he, too, was willing to offer far-ranging speculations on very small data bases. However, thanks to the invention of radiocarbon dating, he was able to place his unfolding archaeological record on a much improved time line. By the end of the 1950s, carbon-14 dating and the discoveries of Borden (1951, 1960), Daugherty (1956), and Cressman *et al.* (1960) had forever changed our perspective on human occupancy of the Pacific Northwest.

The 1960s: Changes in Academic Archaeology

This brings us nicely to the 1960s, and while to contrast this period with the 1970s, I have labelled it a decade of academic archaeology, it begins with what we can now see was the seed for the later, bureaucratic archaeology.

In 1960, Wilson Duff, provincial anthropologist, Carl Borden, as the archaeologist at the province's only university — the University of British Columbia, and Willard Ireland, provincial archivist, achieved passage by the government of the *Archaeological and Historic Sites Protection Act*. Because it will figure prominently in our discussion of the '70s, let me outline some of its major provisions.

First of all, it furnished protection for certain classes of sites: (1) designated sites, (2) human burials, (3) rock art, and (4) virtually any other archaeological site found on Crown lands.

The main part of the text of this fourth, all-encompassing provision read as follows:

> No person shall knowingly destroy, deface, or otherwise alter, excavate, or dig in any Indian kitchen-midden, shell-heap, house-pit, cave, or habitation site, or any cairn, mound, fortification, or other structure, or any other archaeological remain on Crown lands, whether designated as an archaeological site or not . . . .

However, for this and the other listed prohibitions, there was the same exception: ". . . except to the extent that he is authorised to do so by a valid and subsisting permit issued under this Act." Thus the Act asserted government control over a wide range of archaeological resources and created a permit system that gave the Minister charged with administering the Act, broad powers to regulate the conduct of excavations by archaeologists.

This piece of legislation had at least two additional provisions that had important consequences:

1 It established the principal that the developer was to pay. Section 10 read as follows:

> Whenever, in the opinion of the Minister, any prehistoric or historic remain, whether or not designated as a part of an archaeological or historic site under this Act, is threatened with destruction by reason of commercial, industrial, or other activity, the Minister may require the persons undertaking the activity to provide for adequate investigation, recording, and salvage of any archaeological or historical objects threatened . . . .

2 Then, presumably so the Minister's opinion in these matters might be an informed one, the Act allowed for the establishment of advisory boards. An Archaeological Sites Advisory Board was formed in 1961; its historical counterpart in 1973. The Act was a far-sighted accomplishment of its drafters, and even with weaknesses that became increasingly apparent, it placed British Columbia for a while at the forefront in legislated protection of heritage resources.

Although, in retrospect, passage of the Act was probably one of the most significant events in the history of archaeology in the province, initially it had little effect on the kind of archaeology that was done. Throughout the '60s, archaeology still pursued academic goals.

This is not to suggest there were no changes in British Columbia's archaeology. The sheer number of institutions and people involved expanded greatly during the period. In the '50s and even during the early '60s, there was really just Carl Borden, his few students at UBC, and some students "on loan" for summer projects from the Universities of Washington and Toronto, but by the mid '60s we had archaeology and archaeological programmes at what were now three Provincial universities, there was an archaeologist on the staff of the British Columbia Provincial Museum, and the National Museum of Canada had appointed a West Coast archaeologist. As well, because the National Museum seemingly defined the interior plateau a part of the Prairies, and because their archaeologist in charge of Prairie programmes was mainly interested in the Chilcotin, we picked up another interested party that way.

Major research programmes were embarked on by these archaeologists and others in many parts of the province — although the main effort was directed towards the coast. Early on, Carl Borden, on behalf of the University of British Columbia, completed his work in the Fraser Canyon while David Sanger (1970), then at the University of Washington, put together the pioneering culture sequence for the Middle Fraser. Later, Roy Carlson and Phil Hobler (1970) of Simon Fraser University and Jim Hester (1969) of the University of Colorado, had major excavations under way on the central coast and the Simon Fraser duo were at work in the Gulf Islands as well (Carlson 1970). I had involved the University of Victoria in excavation projects in the Gulf Islands (Mitchell 1971) and survey work in the Johnstone/Queen Charlotte Strait area (Mitchell 1969). Don Abbott of the Provincial Museum, was excavating at Pedder Bay, on southern Vancouver Island, and Gay Calvert (1970), on staff at the Vancouver Centennial Museum, began excavations at the St Mungo

Cannery site on the lower Fraser river. For the National Museum of Canada, George MacDonald (1969) was developing his Prince Rupert Harbour sequence and initiating work on the Queen Charlotte Islands (Fladmark 1970) while Roscoe Wilmeth (1978), was digging into housepits at Anahim Lake on the Chilcotin Plateau. And Bill Folan (1969) and John Dewhirst (1969) were on the West Coast of Vancouver Island at Yuquot under the auspices of Parks Canada.

Some of this 1960s work continued the old theme of the sources of Northwest Coast culture, but I think that most of us, more explicitly trained in anthropological archaeology, saw ourselves engaged in other problems than the question of origins, important though that might be. In fact, many of us were perhaps more interested in contributing to the development of anthropology than to the writing of prehistory. What had happened was that the anthropological context of archaeology had changed, and we were steeped in what was then fashionable in the social sciences. Ecology was in vogue. So were systems. And so were statistical approaches.

Cultures were not to be explained or even understood by tracing the origins of their constituent elements, as had the Berkeley school, but rather by determining when and under what circumstances or why these elements were adopted by the populations under study. In the then current vocabulary, cultures were adaptive systems that made life more or less secure for human populations. And we visualised we were excavating the material remains of adaptive systems whose form and evolution we would eventually attempt to reconstruct.

With this new and different view of the problems that were important to investigate, it is not surprising that the archaeology itself was different from what had come before. I can single out two overriding characteristics of 1960s archaeology that serve to set it apart from the earlier:

1 *Archaeologists paid attention to a wider range of data.* More specifically, because of the interest in ecology and systems, much emphasis was placed on collecting what was loosely thought of as environmental data from sites and from site neighbourhoods.

Faunal remains were raised to a level of importance that rivalled that of the artifact; and in the case of Jim Hester's work at Namu, its importance actually exceeded that of the artifact. His first publications essentially outlined a culture sequence based almost entirely on changes in the faunal assemblages. Pollen samples were sought, as a means of reconstructing past plant communities and from these to read the climatic conditions and infer animal communities. And lithic raw material sources were investigated for what they could tell us about human use of the environment.

2 *There was express concern with the nature of the data-base.* At its simplest, this took the form of programmes of research that began, logically enough, with regional survey to determine what numbers and kinds of sites were available, and then moved to selection of "suitable" sites for more intensive excavation. As archaeology became more sophisticated, it was soon all-too-apparent that in making these selections we were *sampling* from the past; and this recognition grew rapidly in the succeeding decade into use, by some of us, of statistical sampling procedures in selecting areas to survey, sites to examine, and portions of sites to excavate.

To me, it is this concern with the data base and an accompanying acknowledgement of limitations inherent in the data, that most clearly set the '60s apart from the earlier periods. Before, there was much speculation based on a very small amount of information; after, almost a shunning of any speculation at all. It lead to better archaeology — but much duller reading.

The main archaeological projects that I have earlier referred to sometimes had elements of salvage associated with them, but the vast majority were conceived as academic pursuits. The goals were to tackle the big problems of Northwest Coast or Plateau cultural evolution, beginning with the kind of investigation necessary to establish regional sequences. But before most of these grand programmes could be completed — indeed, before some got fairly underway — the '70s were upon us, and the setting for archaeology changed dramatically.

The 1970s: Archaeology is Bureaucratized

What changed? A great deal. Let me outline what I see as the major characteristics of British Columbia archaeology in the 1970s.

There is, pre-eminently, the development of a bureaucratized archaeology. It was started in a very small way in the preceding decade, by the activities of the Archaeological Sites Advisory Board (ASAB), but greatly expanded with the appointment of Bjorn Simonsen as a full-time employee of the Ministry responsible for administration of the *Archaeological and Historic Sites Protection Act*.

Because Bjorn did his job very well, Ministry involvement in archaeology grew rapidly. Within seven years (see Table 1), the direct budget for running what eventually became the Provincial Archaeologist's Office expanded from $15,000 in fiscal year 1970–71 to $412,000 in 1977–8. Over this same period, the staff rose from 1 to 9. Money administered by that government office grew even more. By 1977–8, direct budget and administered funds were very nearly $1,137,000 (Simonsen 1977).

Such a government presence dominated archaeology. Virtually all the survey work was being done by persons employed by or under contract to the government and much of the salvage excavation was also directly handled by the growing bureaucracy. In the 1975 field season, for example, the Provincial Archaeologist's office was running 34 inventory projects employing some 140 people. In addition, it was administering a newly-established warden system involving 30 volunteers stationed in various parts of the province (Sneed 1976).

The lever for all this growth was provided by the *Archaeological and Historic Sites Protection Act*. Section 10 began, as noted previously, "Whenever, in the opinion of the Minister, any prehistoric or historic remain . . . is threatened with destruction . . . ." The key phrase here is "in the opinion of the Minister." ASAB and the Provincial Archaeologist argued that the Minister had to provide funds to survey threatened areas because this wording of the Act meant he had to know about the existence of sites before he could order a developer to pay for salvage excavation. He had to have some way of getting his "opinion." The argument was bought and budget and staff to provide "Ministerial opinion" grew.

fiscal year	dollar amount
1970–71	15,000
1971–72	115,000
1972–73	68,755
1973–74	126,000
1974–75	450,000
1975–76	629,311
1976–77	640,000
1977–78	1,137,000

Table 1. Total funds administered.

The government also, independently, decided that funds provided by Crown corporations and by other Ministries to salvage sites they were proposing to destroy, should be channelled through a sister agency, the Provincial Archaeologist's office. And again, budget and staff grew to administer these funds, which came in from Parks Branch and the Ministry of Highways in particular.

Working arrangements with some agencies, such as BC Hydro, meant that even on occasions when funds were not transferred to the Provincial Archaeologist's Office, that organisation still reviewed the project submissions and advised on the letting of salvage contracts . . . and these activities required staff as well.

In addition, through the Act's permit system, the bureaucracy began to guide the archaeology done by others. Although silent itself on these points, the Act did provide that conditions attached to permits had the same effect as law. What it said, was: "The Minister may limit a permit as to time and location, may require such reports as he deems proper, and may impose such other terms and conditions as he considers proper." Terms and conditions at one time or another considered proper included:

1 Minimum standards for survey, excavation, and reporting.

2 Minimum standards for the credentials of persons eligible to obtain permits.

3 A requirement that material recovered under permit ultimately remain in the province.

4 Indian band permission or approval for all projects.

I have probably sufficiently illustrated my first point — that with the 1970s, archaeology in British Columbia was quite thoroughly bureaucratized.

The second major characteristic of the decade was the strong shift in emphasis to salvage projects. All that money that became available was destined for impact assessments of development areas and salvage of material from endangered sites. It was certainly not provided to further the research goals of academic archaeologists.

In the '70s there were numerous areas under development and as a consequence, many endangered sites. As even the expanded Provincial Archaeologist's office lacked the capacity to handle some of these big projects, or, for that matter, all the small projects, contracts were let to universities for their graduate students, to colleges, and to private contractors. So great was the demand for trained personnel at this time that BC was actually an importer of archaeologists. There was also, as you can imagine, strong pressure put on the college, university, and museum archaeologists to channel their efforts to salvage work, although, as most believed, it was the rare salvage project that was academically rewarding.

Third, apart from the political decision to develop and encourage a government presence in archaeology, the major economic fact of the '70s also served to shift emphasis to government sponsored or controlled projects. Inflation — particularly wage inflation — hit a labour-intensive enterprise like archaeology very hard. Salaries and wages doubled and then doubled again. Transportation costs, subsistence costs escalated.

While archaeology was benefiting during the same period from new technical developments, none of these seems to have been of the labour-saving kind. Quite the contrary, they called for *more* labour. So, in fact, as we increasingly realised the necessity of collecting additional classes of data, field projects simply became even more time-consuming — and thus more costly. Most of the new developments added significantly to the time and therefore the costs of analysis as well. Besides artifacts, feature records, burials, and stratigraphic records, we now routinely collected such classes of data as faunal remains, column samples, sediment samples, and lithic detritus, and sometimes flotation samples as well. The analysis of all these, if properly attended to, proved a lengthy and costly process.

Inflation, combined with research costs that would therefore have increased even without inflation, made for bigger and bigger budgets. The $5000 or $10,000 project of the mid '60s became a $30,000, then $100,000–$200,000 undertaking. Budgets of this scale were simply beyond the capacity of universities, colleges, or museums — and were effectively outside of what such funding bodies as the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council would regularly provide. If you wanted to be involved with a big-budget project, it had to be a government one — a salvage one.

A fourth and final characteristic of the '70s, was a shift in the centre of archaeological activity from the coast to the interior. This resulted very directly from the fact that the decade's major industrial and development projects such as power-lines, highways, pipelines, and open pit mines, were located east of the coast mountains. More archaeologists were of necessity engaged in survey and excavation in the Plateau and Subarctic culture areas than the Northwest Coast, in marked contrast with the situation in the '60s when academic archaeologists could pick and choose research topics and areas according to their interests, and mainly elected the coast.

If we ask again the question posed earlier: "What changed in the '70s?" we can now note that the combined effect of all these developments of the decade was to reposition archaeology — move it away from the "academic" setting of universities, colleges, and museums. Where it came to rest may be best described by noting that the centre of effort migrated from a discipline directed towards the interests of anthropology to one enlisted by what was by then referred to as cultural resource management. And despite the many earnest words written and spoken about the need for academic and man-

agement archaeologists to find common ground, we must recognize that such ground was discovered with only limited success.

Perhaps this is because the goals were not really the same. The one still wanted to fill in those gaps that exist in the record of the past and to determine what had shaped past events and cultures. The immediate goal of the other was to determine how best to manage and conserve an endangered resource within the confines of legislated requirements. There were a very few notable projects that bridged interests — the University of British Columbia's Hat Creek project (Pokotylo 1978) was one — but these were exceptional. It is just not very likely that a pipeline or transmission line corridor, a highway right-of-way, or sometimes even a dam pondage area, will include the sites an archaeologist bent on solving some particular problem about the past would choose to examine.

A Concluding Observation

At the start, I referred to the '60s and '70s as "decisive" in the development of British Columbia archaeology. They were important for rather different reasons. The first broadened the goals and established new standards for academic archaeology; the second introduced cultural resource management as a new and relatively generous master to serve. In concert with changing economic and political circumstances, it reduced academic goals to secondary, usually minor, importance. Although academic projects have continued through the succeeding decades (sometimes with the aid of research grants; more often under the wing of college or university field schools) they have not again risen to the level of prominence enjoyed during the 1960s and even the role of academic institutions in government-imposed survey and salvage work has since been dwarfed by the ascent of entrepreneurial contract archaeology.

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Part Four: Toward the present

Traders' residence at McLeod Lake Fur Trading Post, British Columbia.

During the summers of 1992 and '93, the McLeod Lake Indian Band sponsored archaeological excavations at the site of their ancestral village associated with the McLeod Lake Fur Trading Post. This trading post, founded in 1805, had played an important role in the economic and social life of the Tsek'ehne McLeod Lake people. The excavations and archival research culminated in the restoration of the traders' residence as a museum to interpret local history. This project revealed the impact of the fur trade on Tsek'ehne traditional culture and the changes that occurred at McLeod Lake during the last two centuries. The second year of excavations marked the beginning of historic archaeology done by Indians. For the first time in the history of Canadian archaeology, an archaeological project comprised entirely Indians.

By courtesy of Eldon Yellowhorn.

Chapter 17

"I don't think we are in Kansas anymore:" The Rise of the Archaeological Consulting Industry in Ontario

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Abstract

The practice of archaeology in Ontario has changed dramatically over the last couple of decades. A major part of that change has been the recognition of a legislated responsibility for archaeological conservation in various land use planning processes, which in turn has led to the explosive growth of an archaeological consulting industry in the province. The results have been staggering, with each year marked by millions of dollars in contract archaeology spent, and hundreds of archaeological sites found and excavated. However, the archaeological community has been slow to recognize and respond to the challenges these changes have created, and in so doing has increasingly left itself open to criticisms of paying only lip service to a high-minded conservation ethic, while pursuing rather baser, economic motivations. And if the archaeological community fails to respond to such criticism, and fails to meet the challenges facing the practice of archaeology, changes will be imposed on that community by external interest groups ranging from those who foot the bill for conserving archaeological resources, to lawmakers, to those who increasingly have asserted their collective ownership on this important component of Ontario's heritage.

Résumé

La pratique de l'archéologie a considérablement changé en Ontario depuis les dernières décennies. La majeure partie de ce changement fut la reconnaissance d'une responsabilité légiférée pour la conservation archéologique sur diverses terres qui utilisent des procédés de planification qui, de fait, a conduit à la croissance explosive d'une industrie archéologique consultante dans la province. Les résultats ont été échélonnes, marqués chaque année par la signature de contrats de millions de dollars, et de centaines de sites archéologiques découverts et excavés. Cependant, la communauté archéologue a été lente a reconnaître et a répondre aux défis que ces changements ont amenés, et de la sorte s'est énormément offerte aux critiques, accusant de rendre des hommages peu sincères à une éthique fort encline à la conservation, tout en poursuivant des motivations plutôt indignes, économiques. Et si la communauté archéologue échoue face à une telle critique, et manque à affronter les défis faisant face à la pratique de l'archéologie, les changements seront imposés à cette communauté par des groupes externes d'intérêt, depuis ceux qui paient la note, jusqu'à ceux qui ont de plus en plus revendiqué la propriété collective sur cet important composant de l'héritage de l'Ontario.

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It is a platitude to say that the practice of archaeology has seen massive and dramatic changes in the decades since the end of the Second World War (*e.g.* Cleere 1989; Schiffer & Gumerman 1977a). In Canada this change really began in earnest some two to three decades ago (*e.g.*, Byrne 1976; Charlton 1976; Fox 1986a;

MacDonald 1977; Mitchell, this volume; Noble 1982; Turnbull 1977; Wright 1986). Not so long ago archaeology was the sole pursuit of a handful of professional archaeologists and an avocational past time — a small number of individuals interested in a relatively obscure part of Canada's heritage. Now archaeology, and specifically the conservation of archaeological resources within a development context, is a high profile component of the heritage landscape, loaded with economic, social and political ramifications that impinge on the interests of a much wider sector of society than that of the archaeological community.

That these changes have impacted on the practice of archaeology is a truism that we, as members of the archaeological "community," can readily acknowledge. However these changes are also something we often lose sight of while preoccupied with the immediate issues and concerns of the day. And perhaps more important, we also tend to lose sight of what the ramifications of these changes are, although their effects are felt in the angst and uneasiness which colours so much of the discussion about the current state of archaeology and its philosophical and moral underpinnings (*e.g.*, Davis 1972; Fluehr-Lobban 1991; Green 1984; Lynott and Wylie 1995a; Woodall 1990; Wylie 1993). Certainly in Ontario, where the archaeological community has been instrumental in bringing about change in legislation leading to increased conservation of this province's archaeological heritage, we haven't been prepared for the changes these efforts have subsequently wrought. As such, we have been slow to realize that the changing face of archaeology in Ontario is demanding a fairly radical shift in how we think about and do archaeology, and threatens to marginalize any role we might have in influencing how the province's archaeological resources are managed.

Being lost in the day to day business of archaeology, it's easy to forget how far things have come in a short time, or indeed that we are still travelling this endless road of change and evolution. Certainly as a government employee stuck squarely in the bureaucratic whirlwind of archaeological resource conservation and land use planning, I can go months at a time without looking up. And being overwhelmed with the day to day demands and future threats to the practice of archaeology in Ontario, it is difficult to stop and reflect on the "progress" that has been made over a short period of time; it being easier to see how steep the road ahead is than to see how precarious the road travelled so far was. Given this, I'd like to offer, albeit from the perspective of a government-entrenched archaeologist barely able to see beyond the world of CRM demands, some observations on the changes that has taken place over the last three decades to the practice of archaeology in Ontario, and consider where those changes are taking us.

Ontario Archaeology — 1975–1995

The precursors to change in the practice of Ontario archaeology can be traced to the 1960s. During those days, archaeology was mostly the domain of academic or museum professionals, and avocational archaeologists. The Ontario Archaeological Society (OAS), an organization comprised of some professionals and many avocationals, was quite active excavating sites and promoting archaeological interests to the archaeological community. Provincial government involvement in archaeology was mostly limited to providing funds for a few research projects, although the Archaeological and Historic Sites Protection Act did serve as a means of designating a limited number of archaeological sites across the province, and did place the notion of archaeology as being part of Ontario's heritage firmly into the corporate mentality of the province.

Also during the 1960s a sizeable number of anthropology departments were created or expanded at Canadian universities, hiring faculty with training in Canadian or North American archaeology (Kelley and Williamson 1996; Noble 1972; Trigger 1977). Mostly up and running by the early to mid 1970s, these departments collectively began to produce relatively large numbers of students graduating with archaeological expertise — a far larger number than could ever be absorbed back into these universities as employees. Nonetheless, many of these

graduates still managed to pursue archaeological careers as government employees, some with the Ministry of Natural Resources (MNR) provincial parks programmes, documenting and interpreting archaeological resources for tourism and planning purposes.

This growth of an active, professional archaeological population in turn contributed to the growth of organizations such as the OAS, which in turn offered these new students of archaeology opportunities to directly and immediately contribute to the discipline, and gave them a sense of belonging to and membership in Ontario's archaeological community. Also, the involvement of a growing number of recent archaeological graduates in the OAS tended to generate links and blur the lines between professional and avocational archaeologist, and contributed to an overall more aware and sophisticated archaeological community.

A growing and increasingly vocal archaeological community created real opportunities to raise the profile of archaeology as an important part of the province's heritage. Consequently, when in 1974 Ontario introduced the *Ontario Heritage Act*, archaeological concerns were a major part of its legislative mandate. While the archaeological provisions in the Act are regularly criticized today as being ineffectual, lacking adequate provisions for protecting archaeological resources and site collections, and lacking the ability to regulate the quality of archaeological fieldwork or the reporting of that work, nonetheless these provisions entrenched two critical principles which would have tremendous implications for archaeology in Ontario. First, arising in part from the earlier *Archaeological and Historic Sites Protection Act*, it formally recognized archaeology as a part of Ontario's heritage, acknowledging that the conservation of archaeological resources was an area of provincial interest and responsibility. Second, the Act made it a regulatory obligation of the archaeological community to hold a licence in order to conduct field activity, and submit reports detailing that work. While this provision also has been criticized as cumbersome and lacking any real accreditation value, it did establish a principle of accountability and provided, at least at an abstract level, the practice of archaeology with an "air" of professionalism. Down the road, these principles would serve an important role in validating the credibility of both the archaeological community and provincial concerns for the resource to provincial review and development agencies, the development sector and the public.

With the crystallization of a provincial interest in archaeology under the Ontario Heritage Act came the entrenchment of an emerging archaeological "bureaucracy" (Noble 1982) to address this interest, through the establishment of the Ministry of Culture and Recreation — currently known as the Ministry of Citizenship, Culture and Recreation (MCzCR). Well over a dozen archaeologists were employed by the ministry, providing the technical expertise needed to manage and implement programmes related to archaeology. Most of these individuals were directly transferred to the Ministry from the MNR parks programme. The centralization of archaeological and heritage conservation concerns under one Act, and the placement of all technical expertise within one Ministry, created a new role for a part of the archaeological community; in effect positioning a limited group of trained archaeologists, now employed as full-time civil servants, in an ideal position to promote or "sell" archaeology directly to the law and policy makers in government (MacLeod 1975).

At first, the Ministry's response to its mandate for archaeology under the Act was to establish and maintain regional archaeological offices, basically carrying over much of the structure and organization that had existed in MNR. Three offices were maintained in the south (at London, Toronto and Ottawa) and three in the north (at Kenora, Thunder Bay and Sault Ste Marie). Particular mandates for each of these offices were nebulous, and tended to reflect the research interests of staff, as well as the state of the archaeological community and nature of the resources in the region (for example, staff archaeologists in the Ottawa office developed an interest in underwater archaeology, and by the mid 1980s were directing most of their efforts to this area). In other offices, staff pursued a combination of personal research interests, and a range of activities designed to add to the data-

base, support the archaeological community, and promote the province's archaeological heritage to the public. Major surveys led to the identification of many archaeological sites in areas of the province with little previous documentation (*e.g.*, Hamalainen 1977; C. Reid 1980). The Ministry maintained several publication series to quickly disseminate data from various field projects (*e.g.*, Data Box, Archaeological Research Series, and Conservation Archaeological Reports). Ministry staff also established formal training and support programmes for avocational archaeologists, including a conservation officer programme that relied on volunteers to record private collections, find sites, monitor possible threats to sites, and pass on this information to the regional archaeologist (Fox 1981; 1985). Staff also supported graduate student research, and worked with academic archaeologists on a range of research topics. Additionally staff undertook large-scale, high-profile public archaeology excavations (e.g., the Front Street project in downtown Toronto, Nestor Falls in north-western Ontario), while several of the regional offices published booklets for the public that were summaries of the culture history for their part of the province. For example, over 15,000 copies of the north central booklet alone have been passed out over the years (W. Ross, personal communication). Finally, from Manitou Mounds to Walpole Island staff worked with First Nations communities and individuals to establish educational training programmes and build working relationships around archaeological issues.

As their profile grew with the public and archaeological community, these regional archaeology offices would regularly receive reports from concerned individuals about sites facing imminent threat from primarily development impacts. Likewise, Ministry staff occasionally were called upon to examine and document unmarked burial discoveries, and resolve the sometimes controversial and emotional issues surrounding such matters. And while staff would encourage private landowners and public development agencies to address these impacts to sites and burials directly, often negotiations with proponents were be reduced to simply buying a few weeks or days delay in development, in order to allow Ministry staff access to a threatened site to salvage some data, usually at the Ministry's expense. Ministry staff salvaged dozens of archaeological sites in the first decade of the regional archaeological programme, ranging from several acre Iroquoian villages (*e.g.*, Fox 1982, 1986b), to 19th-century Mohawk Iroquois cabin sites (Kenyon and Ferris 1984) — all undertaken usually with one or two Ministry staff, maybe a few summer students, and hundreds or thousands of hours of volunteer assistance. Though popular with volunteers, and perceived at the time as the right thing for the province to do, these last minute rescue attempts were notorious, and enjoyed only variable success. The problem was that delaying development and hurrying to recover some data were not ingredients one normally associates with wise and effective archaeological resource conservation. As well, there was only so many staff available to run around in front of bulldozers at any given time. Indeed, a shock to the new archaeological bureaucracy in Ontario was the quick realization that, no matter how many staff the government employed, there would always be more sites under development threat than staff available to salvage them.

Additionally, concern over the massive and rapid urban growth occurring across south-western and central Ontario, and their resulting impacts on archaeological sites, was setting off alarm bells within the archaeological community. These concerns increasingly led to criticism of the Ministry programme, encouraged by a few high-profile Ministry failures to protect a site, particularly when headlines such as "Bulldozers put end to Huron village dig" (*Globe and Mail*, September 10, 1984) accompanied such losses. In part because of early successes, the rescue and protection of threatened sites was perceived by the broader archaeological community as a central aim of certainly the southern offices of the provincial regional archaeology programme, despite the host of other initiatives pursued by staff. As such, whenever the destruction of an archaeological site came to light, it demonstrated to the archaeological community a failure on the part of the Ministry regional archaeology programme to fulfil its most critical mandate.

Of course unparalleled, post war urban growth was having a staggering impact on archaeological sites, well beyond the ability of any single group to keep in check. It has been estimated, for example, that over 60% or the archaeological sites existing in metropolitan Toronto had been lost by the 1970s (Coleman and Williamson 1994:67–69). However, as was the case elsewhere in North America, by the 1970s concern for the conservation of Ontario's archaeological heritage was beginning to be recognized in legislation directly governing land use activities. In 1975, the *Environmental Assessment Act* was proclaimed, stating that adverse impacts caused by an environmental assessment (EA) project on a host of features, including ". . . any building, structure, machine, device or thing made by Man . . ." would need to be assessed. While the language is vague, it did open the door for archaeological concerns to be addressed as part of larger-scale public development, notably provincial highways and hydroelectric projects. Further legislative change came in 1982 with the *Planning Act*, which identified "the conservation of features of significant architectural, cultural, historical, archaeological or scientific interest" as a provincial concern approval authorities had to have regard for as part of their decision-making process. This meant that land use planning activities undertaken by the private sector (e.g., subdivisions and other housing development projects) would need to mitigate anticipated development impacts on heritage resources, including archaeological sites.

However, for much of the 1980s and early 1990s archaeological conservation needs were not fully recognized or effectively incorporated into these review processes. For example, many municipal environmental assessment projects were informally grouped as Class EAs (municipal roads, water/waste water, landfill, erosion control, etc.), which had the effect of scoping or limiting review requirements and exempting heritage considerations. Heritage concerns were only incorporated into most municipal Class EA projects in the late 1980s. Additionally, while the *Planning Act* formally identified a need to have regard for the provincial interest in conserving archaeology, there were no specific policies to articulate this concern in the Act, and no indication of how archaeology was to be regarded in the plans review process. Consequently, archaeological concerns were often ignored in *Planning Act* decisions made by both municipal and provincial approval authorities.

These problems were also compounded by the fact that MCzCR staff were archaeologists, not planners or engineers, and thus were generally unfamiliar with the development review process; staff could understand the importance of defining archaeological concerns in policy and legislation, but figuring out how these processes should work on the ground, so to speak, was another matter. So, in order to persuade MCzCR management, provincial development agencies and approval authorities of the role archaeological conservation should play under the *Environmental Assessment Act* and *Planning Act*, Ministry archaeologists had to teach themselves the nuances of these processes, all the while still having to chase bulldozers, respond to requests for assistance and generally continue to deal directly with the other demands of archaeological resource management in the province.

Nevertheless, over time, MCzCR staff did become more effective at utilising the provisions of the Environmental Assessment and Planning Acts to conserve archaeological resources. This started in the traditional fashion, with staff archaeologists finding the means to encourage or cajole a provincial agency or particular municipal planning approval authority to address archaeological concerns as a matter of course when planning for particular developments (e.g., Fox 1986c). This primarily meant getting development agencies and planning approval authorities to circulate development applications to MCzCR for review, or agreeing to address archaeological concerns directly. As the Ministry's informal role as a plans review agency grew, it increasingly was legitimized internally, culminating in the formation of a Ministry development review unit — now known as the Archaeology and Heritage Planning Unit.

Currently, most development projects in Ontario follow a broadly similar review process for addressing archaeological concerns (Figure 1). So, supposing a developer has a parcel

Figure 1. A development property goes through Ontario's archaeological conservation process.
1a. A developer identifies a parcel of land for future construction plans.
1b. A consideration of physical and historic landscape features demonstrates the archaeological potential of the subject property (known sites, proximity to water, historic transportation route).
1c. The resulting assessment locates four sites, two of which are isolated findspots (open circles), and two of which require mitigation of development impacts.
1d. Development proceeds after excavating one site, and preserving the other in a park (long-term protection provisions are incorporated on title).

of land, and intends to built a housing subdivision, pipeline, landfill, highway, etc., or extract gravel from this property (Figure 1a). The developer can either "pre-consult" — ask MCzCR if there are likely to be archaeological concerns — or more often formally submit the development proposal for review. Depending on the specific development process, the proposal will be examined by MCzCR or by staff working directly for the development agency or approval authority. The review is intended to determine if the property has the potential for containing sites which would be threatened by development — potential being a key concept since sites are below ground and as such can't be mapped as known constraints beforehand, just anticipated. It also should be mentioned that determining potential in this context is a process strictly intended to answer a question for plans review purposes (*i.e.*, should or should not a trained archaeologist examine the development property before construction begins?) The question is answered by determining the presence or absence of a range of physical and cultural-historical criteria on or adjacent to the development (Figure 1b). These criteria include whether or not known sites are present, proximity to water courses (usually the most critical criterion to consider), along with other physical features such as soils, topography, etc., and historic features such as early transportation corridors.

If the development property is found to have the potential to contain sites, either a heritage

condition requiring archaeological assessment and mitigation is attached to proposal (mostly for *Planning Act* and *Aggregates Resources Act* applications), or an archaeological assessment requirement is identified in the environmental study report for an EA project. This requires the proponent have a qualified, licensed archaeologist survey the property, and submit a report of the activities conducted (Figure 1c). MCzCR reviews the report for licensing purposes, and if any "significant" sites have been identified they will need to be excavated in advance of development, or protected during development and afterwards. Once all provincial heritage concerns have been met, MCzCR signs off from the project, allowing the development agency or approval authority to clear the archaeological requirement tied to the development. All of this must occur before the development gets final approval to proceed and construction begins (Figure 1d).

Most recently changes to the *Planning Act* and proposed changes to the *Environmental Assessment Act* either maintain or further entrench archaeological resource conservation provisions in these review processes. For example, in the most recent version of the *Planning Act* a specific archaeological conservation policy (Section 3, Policy 2.5.2) has been included, stating:

> Development and site alteration may be permitted on lands containing archaeological resources or areas of archaeological potential if significant archaeological resources have been conserved by removal and documentation, or preservation on site. Where significant archaeological resources must be preserved on site, only development and site alteration which maintain the heritage integrity of the site will be permitted.

This prescriptive policy ensures that all proposed development lands with archaeological potential will require an archaeological assessment. However, changes in the delivery of the plans review process are also underway, which ultimately will mean that approval authorities (provincial or municipal) will be required to make archaeological potential determinations, and place archaeological conditions on development plans themselves. MCzCR's Archaeology & Heritage Planning Unit will continue to act as the resource manager and reviewer of *Ontario Heritage Act* licensing and resource conservation requirements, and co-ordinate this review with approval authorities (Figure 2). Obviously, there are some concerns over both the willingness and ability of these approval authorities to effectively address archaeological concerns. Towards this end, MCzCR (1997) has developed a primer and comprehensive guide to be used by non-specialists. This includes generalized archaeological potential criteria that non-archaeologists can easily use to answer a simple yes/no question. Additionally, monitoring of local development, by both MCzCR and the local archaeological community, will help ensure that changes to the mechanics of the plans review process don't undermine archaeological conservation efforts.

Under the *Environmental Assessment Act*, *Planning Act*, *Aggregate Resources Act* and other review processes (*e.g.*, Niagara Escarpment, Federal projects, etc.), MCzCR reviews well over a thousand formal development applications a year (Figure 3), though these numbers are currently in flux, given the changes to reviewing Planning Act files. Of the development applications reviewed only a percentage will actually require an archaeological assessment, since some of the applications will be for lands that have been previously impacted or otherwise exhibit little archaeological potential (Figure 4). On average, only about half of all planning files reviewed are identified as having archaeological potential, while around 75% of EA files are so identified. So, for the period 1993–5, in each of year between 400 to 500 development files were identified as having archaeological potential. This means that for each of the 3 years examined, 400–500 parcels of land across the province would eventually be assessed by an archaeologist, all sites found examined, and significant ones excavated or protected, prior to development beginning.

While these numbers are significant, it's important to realize that the screening process utilized by MCzCR was originally a reactive one.

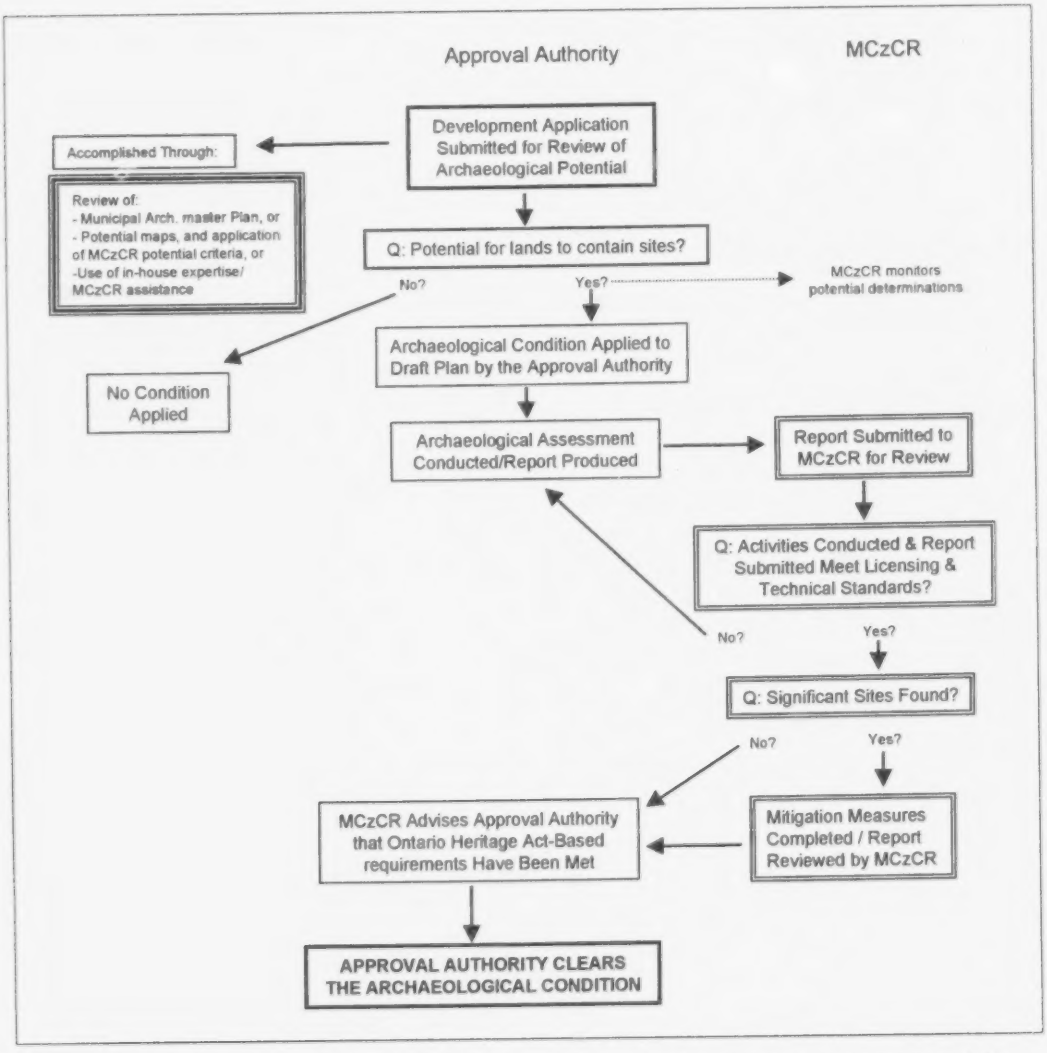

Approval Authority
MCzCR
Development Application Submitted for Review of Archaeological Potential
Accomplished Through:
Review of:
- Municipal Arch. master Plan, or
- Potential maps, and application of MCzCR potential criteria, or
-Use of in-house expertise/ MCzCR assistance
Q: Potential for lands to contain sites?
No?
Yes?
MCzCR monitors potential determinations
No Condition Applied
Archaeological Condition Applied to Draft Plan by the Approval Authority
Archaeological Assessment Conducted/Report Produced
Report Submitted to MCzCR for Review
Q: Activities Conducted & Report Submitted Meet Licensing & Technical Standards?
No?
Yes?
Q: Significant Sites Found?
No?
Yes?
MCzCR Advises Approval Authority that Ontario Heritage Act-Based requirements Have Been Met
Mitigation Measures Completed / Report Reviewed by MCzCR
APPROVAL AUTHORITY CLEARS THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONDITION

Figure 2. This flow chart illustrates how Planning Act developments are now managed for archaeological conservation purposes.

Certainly, the ministry's ability to show that only a percentage of development applications would require survey was an important tool early on in convincing approval authorities to accept archaeological conditions. However, as mentioned previously, the whole process of determining potential was never intended to rely on any complex modelling or formal scoring of measurable features. Rather, the process was based on the intuitive knowledge of skilled and experienced ministry staff. And by relying on staff expertise to determine potential, this process necessarily incorporated the predominant biases and assumptions of significance preva-

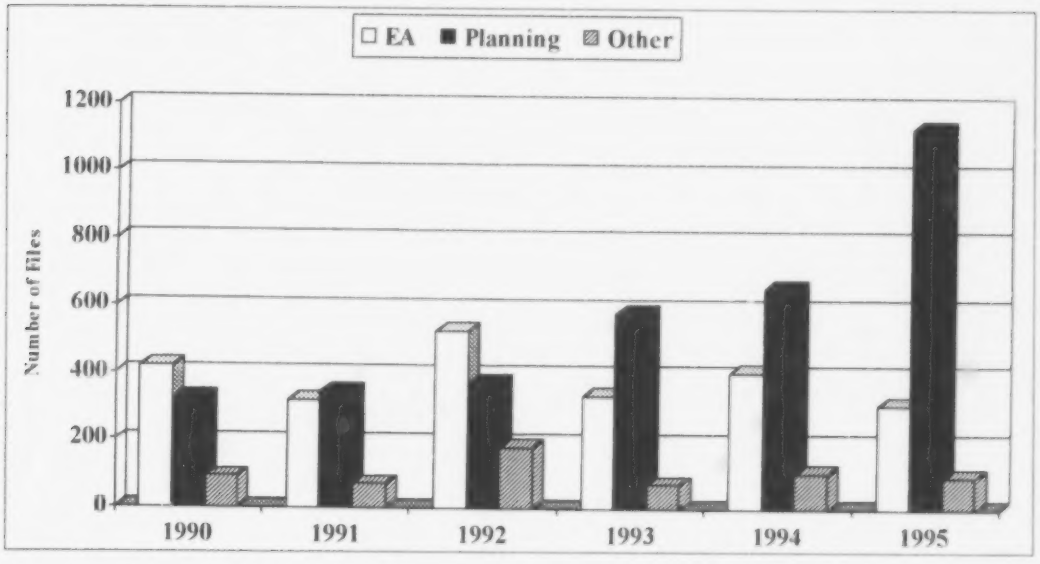


Figure 3. Number of formal development applications reviewed by MCzCR for the purpose of determining archaeological potential, 1990–95. The sharp rise in planning files for 1995 reflects changes to the process, whereby many smaller applications (e.g., zonings, severances, etc.) are now reviewed.

lent in Ontario archaeology. So for southern Ontario, with Iroquoian village locations and other mega-sites in the back of everyone's mind, smaller sites, or sites whose locational determinations don't coincide with Late Woodland settlement patterns, may be under-represented in the rationale for determining potential.

Now while it has never been the stated intent to recover 100% of the archaeological resources present on the development landscape, the effect of any biases in skewing the data recovered may be considerable and thus requires review, but MCzCR staff have not had much opportunity to do so. Consequently, very few low potential properties have been assessed to see if the potential determination was valid. The few such properties that have been investigated did contain the odd archaeological resource; mostly isolated find-spots and such. Nevertheless, nagging doubts remained. Fortunately, recent efforts on the part of municipal approval authorities to incorporate archaeological potential screening into GIS-based master plans have created opportunities to evaluate critically the efficacy of the potential determination methods employed by the province. Most notably, a detailed review of past provincial potential determinations and the subsequent results of assessment findings was undertaken as part of the City of London Archaeological Master Plan (Wilson and Horne 1995). Their findings tended to confirm the validity of provincial methodologies. In particular, when used as a simple yes/no query to determine whether or not a licensed archaeologist should examine a development property, the use of geographic potential criteria (in particular 200–300 metre association with various water sources), was found to capture 100% of "significant" sites (8+ artifacts on the surface of the site), and 70–80% of smaller find-spots — provided that the entire development parcel is surveyed, regardless of whether all or only a portion of the property falls within an area of potential.

Certainly, the City of London findings provide some real comfort and confidence for a

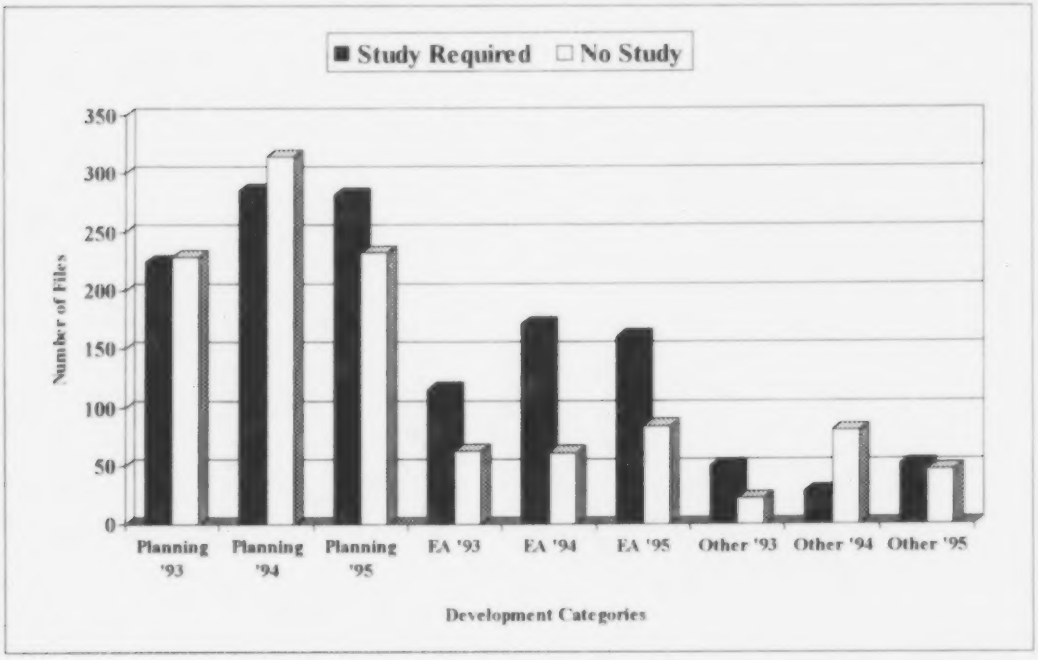


Figure 4. Number of development applications, by category, identified as having archaeological potential (and thus requiring archaeological assessment), and not having archaeological potential, 1993–95. Variation in numbers between this graph and Figure 3 reflect the fact some EA and planning files reviewed will not immediately lead to a determination of potential (e.g. EA project designs), or do not require a determination (e.g. official plan reviews).

method of potential determination increasingly relied on by both the province and municipal planning departments to address archaeological conservation concerns. Nonetheless, there still remains a host of other problems inherent in the way archaeological conservation concerns are addressed in Ontario, many of which arise from the fact that this process is directly tied to land use planning legislation. Essentially legislation such as the *Environmental Assessment Act* and *Planning Act* do not require that the archaeological work undertaken be "good" or should "make a contribution" to archaeology, just that it is done. Quality control issues, presumably, should arise from the *Ontario Heritage Act*. Unfortunately, written in the 1970s, it has limited ability to resolve the issues facing the archaeological community in the 1990s. For example, while the term "licensed archaeologist" may sound impressive, the licensing provisions in the Act don't require applicants to meet minimal qualifications. Further, licences are for individual archaeologists, not businesses. As a result, the occasional use of questionable practices such as low-bidding, use of inexperienced crews, exploiting a developer's lack of knowledge about archaeology for profit, etc., can go unchecked, and occasionally at the expense of the archaeological resource supposedly being conserved. Certainly the current practices of utilizing informal licence categories, such as consultant or conservation, as well as linking the review and approval of a consultant's report with clearance of the development application, do provide a partial means of ensuring minimal standards. However, efforts by the archaeological community to improve on these standards and increase professional accountability have

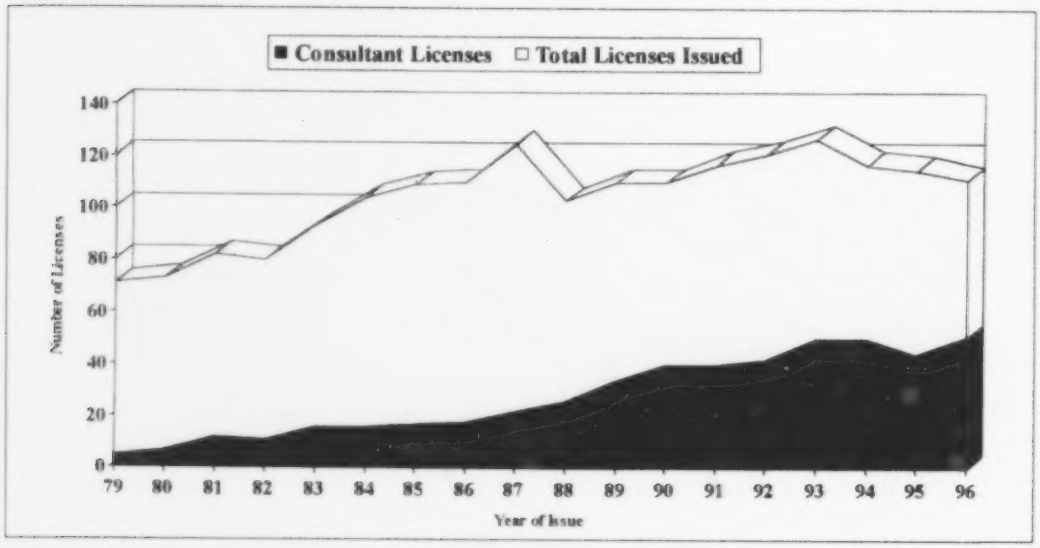


Figure 5. Number of archaeological licenses, including consultant licenses, issued by Ontario, 1979–96.

met only limited success. Unfortunately, any real improvements in these areas must await either changes to the Heritage Act, or a willingness to self-impose and effectively enforce professional accountability on the part of the archaeological consulting community itself.

Rise of the Archaeological Consultant Industry

The increase through time of the range and number of development applications reviewed for archaeology has had, not surprisingly, very direct impacts on the professional archaeological community (Tyyska 1986). Once MCzCR stopped attempting to undertake all of the archaeological resource management needs in the province directly, and given the proponent-pay provisions inherent in all legislated development processes, along with the licensing provisions of the *Ontario Heritage Act*, both public and private developers were forced to respond to increased requirements for archaeological conservation by hiring consultant archaeologists. Naturally, this in turn led to an increase in the number of individuals doing consulting work. This expansion can be traced by the number of archaeological licences MCzCR issued over the last decade and a half (see Figure 5). Archaeologists issued consulting licences have increased steadily, notably around the mid 1980s when MCzCR really began identifying archaeological concerns on *Planning Act*, and when Class EA projects first started to recognize archaeological concerns.

While consulting still represents only around half of all licences issued each year, it is important to realize that a consultant licence allows the holder to undertake any number of projects. Requiring the consultant to submit a Contract Information Form for every project undertaken facilitates this flexibility. For example, between 1993 and 1996 (Figure 6), consultants reported undertaking an average of about 370 projects a year, the vast majority for basic field survey and site assessment projects. Site excavations are less abundant, but this isn't surprising since this activity is usually limited to those "significant" archaeological sites of substance requiring full excavation in advance of development impacts.

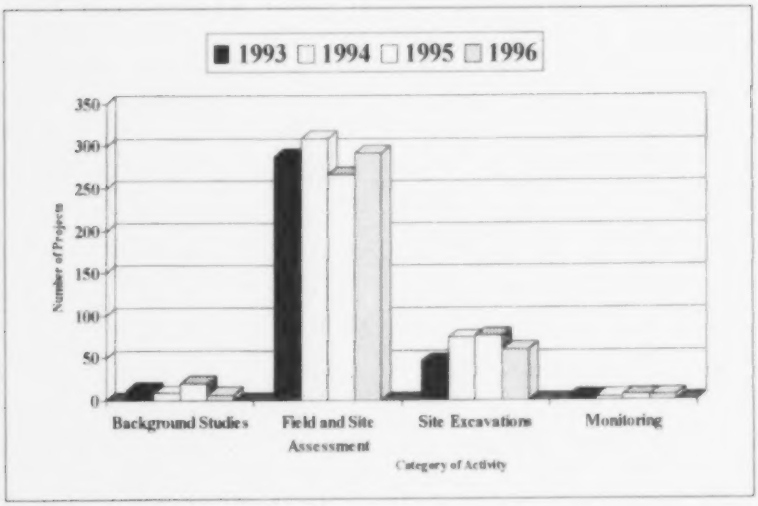


Figure 6. Total number of projects, by category, undertaken by Ontario consultant archaeologists, 1993–6. Numbers based on the submission of Contract Information Forms to MCzCR.

Project Totals	
1993	*350*
1994	*396*
1995	*368*
1996	*364*

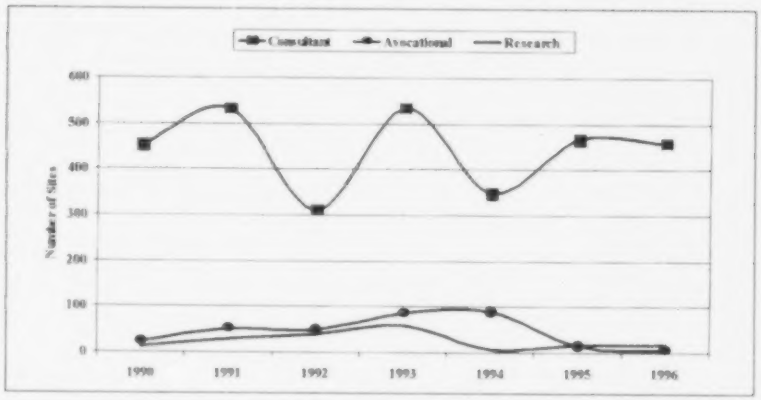
With so much work going on each year, the face of the archaeological consultant community, or "industry," has changed. In the late 1970s, consulting was an activity tacked on to the research career of an academic archaeologist, or something otherwise unemployed archaeologists did to tide them over until their academic careers took off. However, as increasing numbers of archaeologists left universities with graduate degrees, the economic and practical viability of a career in consulting increased exponentially, while investment in a doctorate for the purpose of a career in academia became one of rapidly diminishing returns. Consequently, today consulting archaeology is a distinct career choice, ironically perhaps the only viable employment option left for up-and-coming archaeologists in Ontario. There are now over 50 consultant firms and individuals licensed to work in Ontario, deriving their livelihood primarily through the contracting out of their services to private and public sector developers. These firms usually consist of between 1 and 5 staff members, although at least one firm employs about a dozen individuals. In one form or another, consulting archaeology employs 75–100 individuals full time, and another 75–100 students and professional field and lab technicians seasonally. The province roughly estimates that this industry generates $3–5 million a year satisfying archaeological concerns for development proponents.

Increasingly then, consultant archaeology is the active face of archaeology in Ontario. Consulting firms are the practical training ground and summer employment opportunity for the vast majority of students and new archaeologists. Moreover, through contacts with clients and the public, consultants are also the archaeological profession's equivalent of "first contact" missionaries, out there in every community in the province introducing and promoting Ontario's archaeological heritage — and the archaeological profession — to the public. As well, consultants are also increasingly contributing to the publication of data, providing 30–40% of the articles appearing in Ontario-based archaeological newsletters and journals — a number that is perhaps low given the dominance of consulting activity in Ontario, but perhaps not unexpected, given that research and publication endeavours undertaken by individual consultant archaeologists are seldom done at the expense of a client.

Consulting archaeology over the last decade has also had a major impact on the archaeological database in Ontario. For example, since 1990, between 500 and 700 sites have been added to the provincial data-base each year (Figure 7). Moreover, when the numbers of sites

Figure 7. Number of archaeological sites discovered in Ontario, 1990–96, by category of archaeologist.

Totals	
1990	*448*
1991	*611*
1992	*401*
1993	*677*
1994	*446*
1995	*500*
1996	*480*



documented are sorted by category of archaeologist discovering the site, it is perhaps no surprise to see that the vast majority of sites documented are by consultants. The significance of this distinction should not be under-emphasized — the vast majority of the sites found by consultants are on lands that will be completely altered by construction activities in the near future, and as such would have been lost had archaeological conservation requirements not been part of these various land use development processes. In a sense, the staggering difference between consultant and non-consultant fieldwork is a testament to how further behind we would be today in documenting Ontario's archaeological heritage had the rise of consulting archaeology never occurred.

Another significant impact on the database by consulting archaeology has been the nature of the data being added. Because development review means full land coverage, consultants have to deal with the whole cultural-temporal range of archaeology in Ontario. So, when the sites reported from southern Ontario between 1984 and 1993 are tallied by category (Figure 8), those traditionally investigated by academic archaeologists, such as Iroquoian villages and Woodland camps, are found in respectable numbers. But of much greater yield are the ubiquitous 19th-century domestic site, the prehistoric lithic scatter of unknown cultural affiliation, and the isolated findspot, all site types that have generally received little previous attention by researchers. These findings have led to a substantial re-thinking or shedding of new light on parts of the archaeological record previously undocumented in Ontario (particularly for Archaic time periods), substantially revised previous assumptions about other time periods (particularly in our understanding of Late Woodland settlement and regional range), or confirmed the research potential of site types previously dismissed by most research archaeologists (particularly 19th century domestic sites).

Implications of Consulting Archaeology in Ontario

While the growth of Ontario's archaeological consulting industry has been impressive, it is difficult to say whether the massive number of development properties surveyed or sites found are either good or bad things. In truth, they are a simple reflection of what has been going on in Ontario over the last decade; the archaeological community itself must consider the implications of all this activity.

Certainly, the massive increase in data, particularly for parts of the archaeological record not previously investigated, is making a significant contribution to our understanding of Ontario's culture history (*e.g.*, Ellis and Ferris 1990). And there is no question that the sheer volume of consulting activity occurring in Ontario is creating a whole series of new and unique opportunities for archaeology. In less than a decade, employment and field experience opportunities for both professional and

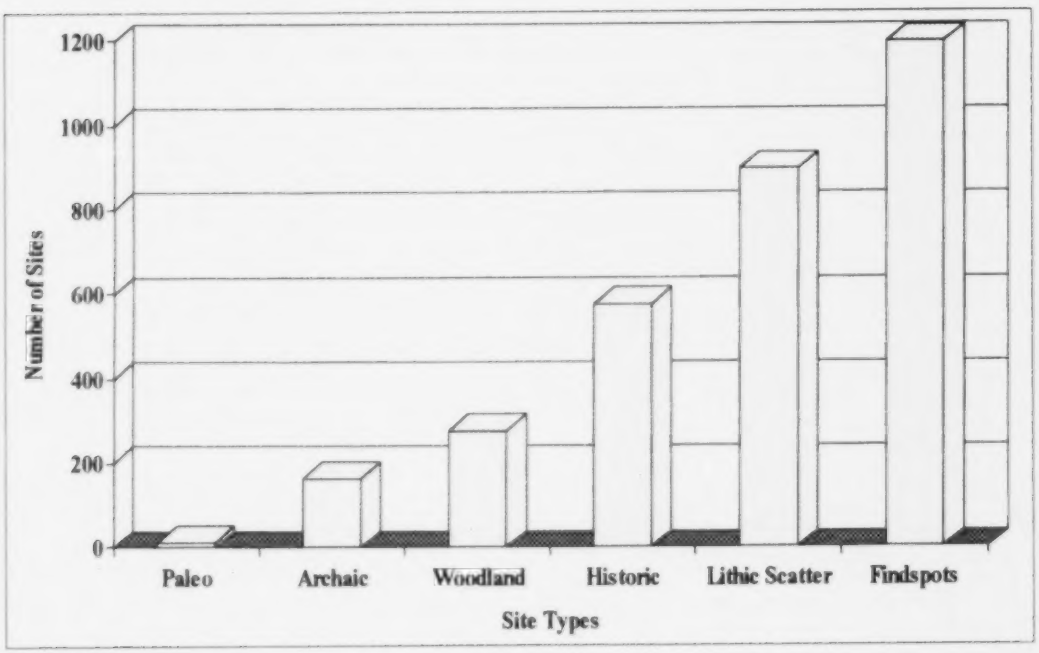


Figure 8. Number of archaeological sites discovered by consultants for southern Ontario (as defined by all sites registered in the National Sites Database for Borden Block designations "A" and "B"), 1984–93, by temporal category/type.

avocational archaeologists have vastly expanded, generating a much larger, active archaeological community. Exposure to the full range of sites on the landscape means opportunities are created to examine all aspects of Ontario's archaeological heritage. Opportunities to test survey and mitigation strategies, and refine and improve the efficiency and expediency of field methods abound. And most important, hundreds of archaeological sites which otherwise would have been destroyed without any form of documentation have been conserved.

However, since we never really anticipated what the changes would be once we convinced provincial law-makers to recognize the importance of archaeological conservation, we generally haven't been prepared to deal with the problems associated with these changes. And unfortunately, in the consultant industry's mad rush to submit bids and write reports, and in MCzCR's mad rush to review and comment on development applications and specialist reports, few of us have had the opportunity to even recognize, let alone address a myriad of problems arising from these activities. Some of the problems which largely go unaddressed include: determining and maintaining appropriate qualifications for consultant work; figuring out how to effectively survey a property to make sure all sites present are found; determining significance and excavation strategies for whole classes of sites few archaeologists had ever excavated before; or resolving how to properly store and curate the millions of artifacts collected over the last decade. Neither have we been able to answer more fundamental questions arising from this unprecedented growth, such as: do the data collected actually contribute to our understanding of the archaeological record; does the documentation of these sites justify the millions of dollars spent by the development sector each year in order to satisfy conditions imposed on

their projects, or should we be re-thinking what is and isn't important, and therefore what we should and shouldn't be expending money and efforts on? And given that consulting archaeology, despite its near dominance in the province, is a field almost completely ignored in Ontario's universities has meant that any solutions to these issues will need to come practitioners themselves, while on the fly.

Some notable examples include the creation of technical assessment guidelines for consultants (MCzCR 1993), resulted from the recognition that this activity had to be improved and standardized (along with the review of that activity by MCzCR staff), due to the problems being experienced daily as a result widely divergent field survey methodologies employed by individual consultants. As well, current efforts to find an industry consensus around minimum requirements for site excavations and the reporting of that work is an attempt to address some of the major problems facing the industry. It will also have the coincidental effect of bringing forward some of the major philosophical differences brewing in the community (*e.g.*, to what extent is consulting archaeology research archaeology?).

A central intent behind such efforts to standardize practices, of course, is to try to move the whole process away from a catch-as-catch-can approach to the issues that arise in this field. But regardless of how many guidelines, rule or regulations are adopted, it still remains that most of the decisions which define day to day practices are reactive, made on the run by one consultant trying to deal with a particular client or one MCzCR staff member trying to resolve a particular issue. Consequently, it has been near impossible to observe the larger trends these individual decisions breed, and makes efforts to standardize behaviour like trying to aim at an always-moving target. As such, the lack of constancy that arises from so much reactive decision-making contributes to a general sense that the discipline is a car careening down a hill out of control, with no one at the wheel. Indeed, the insecurity and lack of any sense of purposeful direction in the industry have contributed to what could be a called a crisis in faith about what we do, which is a key reason why so many archaeologists tend to be so cynical and pessimistic about the current state of, and future direction for, archaeology in Ontario, despite the unprecedented advances which have been made over the last couple of decades (*e.g.*, Adams 1984; Parker 1996).

Of course in the consultant community this sense of pessimism and cynicism is well fuelled, by many instances of perceived or real unprofessional behaviour on the part of some of their colleagues, accusations of being only interested in monetary profit by other archaeologists, encountering bureaucratic inflexibility on the part of provincial staff, and enduring through what perhaps may sometimes feel like a continuous flow of vitriol from developers, engineers, planners, politicians and others who seem to have little interest archaeology, and are less than happy to be required by legislation to pay for archaeological investigations. As well, much more so than for any other sector in archaeology, the decisions consultants make daily often require balancing between the needs of the resource, the profession, the client, and their own livelihood (Figure 9). Moreover, it is probably fair to say that the pulls from professional/regulatory needs and client needs regularly apply much greater force than the pull of resource or personal needs. This can lead to undertaking less detailed field investigations or analysis on some archaeological sites than perhaps the consultant would have preferred. Also, despite accusations to the contrary, most consultants do not live high, and for many consulting may seem not much more than a subsistence-level vocation. Indeed, that more consultants have not had the good sense to leave archaeology and earn a living doing something other than archaeology is testament to the strong sense of personal interest and commitment many feel towards the resource (Adams 1997). Unfortunately, and perhaps even in light of this personal commitment, the negativity and criticism which pervades so much of consulting archaeology tends to breed a high degree of personal angst, pessimism and even contempt for the very profession in which these archaeologists have invested so much of their personal livelihood.

Such a jaundiced view of the archaeological consulting world can contribute to a very harsh

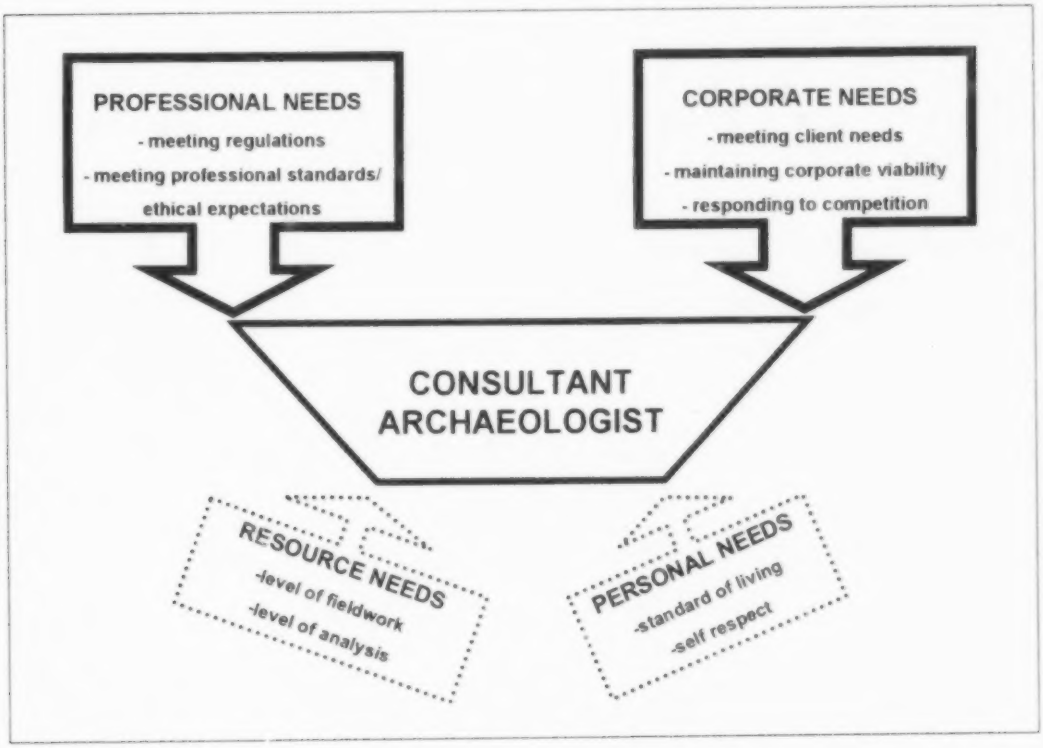


Figure 9. The many and sometimes conflicting needs to be met by the consultant archaeologist.

assessment of what the "real" agenda is behind our efforts to conserve Ontario's archaeological heritage. Indeed, it has been put to me repeatedly (usually by someone active in the consulting industry), that the huge numbers of development projects surveyed and sites discovered over the last decade simply demonstrate how successful the professional archaeological community in Ontario has become at exploiting archaeological resources for the purposes of generating income and livelihood. These arguments usually point out that while we talk about principles of conservation, the decisions regarding which sites should be excavated and which sites should not, which properties should be surveyed and which should not, are made primarily from a business perspective, driven by an economically motivated desire to win more contracts and make more money. Resource conservation concerns and contributions to knowledge, these archaeologists claim, are never more than a coincidental or secondary aim of consulting's much more mercenary business practices. Basically, and despite the financial realities, the archaeological profession is accused of having sold the public a high minded bill of goods about preserving the past, when there was only ever a much more personal profit agenda at work.

There is nothing new about the criticisms these individuals raise, as they are common refrains in the newsletters of major professional archaeological organizations and in the literature of CRM archaeology (*e.g.*, Davis 1972; Fitting 1984; Fowler 1984; Schiffer and Gumerman 1977b). Indeed, the criticisms levelled today at the consulting industry are echoes of the warnings raised when this practice first began to take

shape in Canada in the 1970s (*e.g.*, Byrne 1977; P. Reid 1979). But how to respond to such criticisms, since we don't seem to have made much progress in the last twenty years towards Lipe's (1974) conservation ideal? My reaction is usually to disagree strongly and point out how far we've progressed. I also will use various well-intentioned, rhetorical arguments, such as, "It's better to document something than to lose it all," or "Even if no one understands these sites now or have the time to properly analyse them, future archaeologists can analyse the collections we make," and "There's enough room in CRM work to accommodate both personal livelihood and conservation principles," along with various other statements that Wylie (1995) would call parts of a "Salvage Principle" — rationalizations which justify the way things are without addressing the underlying problems we know are there.

I think this is critical. Because while I disagree with such a cynical view of Ontario archaeology in the 1990s, I agree there are serious problems with where we find ourselves now —problems which we really can't afford to ignore. Increasingly, the consulting industry consumes more and more of our time and effort. Consequently other matters, such as encouraging research, supporting the avocational community, working with Aboriginal communities, or even developing educational programmes, all suffer from neglect. It's certainly a telling statement that while public and private sector development agencies spend millions on CRM archaeology each year, cutbacks have completely eliminated research funding in Ontario and emasculated much of the OAS's ability to take a lead role in advocating for the entire archaeological community. Whether we like it or not, both the good and bad that comes with consultant archaeology is defining what Ontario archaeology is now, and what it will be in the future. And while the conservation of archaeological resources and the rise of a consultant industry have created tremendous opportunities for improving and advancing archaeology, when we ignore or fail to address the many problems that a world of consulting archaeology generates, then shouldn't be surprised when we find ourselves being compared with Alaskan fishing fleets, and Ontario's archaeological resources compared with Pacific salmon stocks. And as we continue to ignore the critical issues facing this discipline, the cynical appraisals of archaeology in the 1990s will increasingly be more truth than fiction, ultimately undermining the ability of the archaeological community to continue to play a central role in managing the province's archaeological heritage.

In particular, we need to realize that by being successful at promoting the need to conserve archaeology, we increasingly find ourselves being asked by those who put into effect our concerns, by those who must pay to address those concerns, and by those who claim a communal or personal ownership of the resource, to justify what it is we, the archaeological community, do (Watkins *et al.* 1995). So, at least where archaeology impinges on economic development, political decision-making and cultural self-identity, we increasingly will find ourselves but one of many voices influencing decisions about Ontario's archaeological heritage, and even how we should or shouldn't practice the profession of archaeology.

Now, I certainly believe that in this pluralistic future the archaeological community can define for itself a key and primary role in the care and management of archaeological resources, as stewards and as caretakers (Mayer-Oakes 1989). Nevertheless, as Lynott and Wylie (1995b:28) point out, stewardship is a trust, not a preserve. And as such, we must understand that our response to the issues raised by other, legitimate interests cannot simply reflect our own personal opinions or preferences, since presumably the reason why we want archaeological resources conserved stems from more than just personal motivations or self-interests — or if it does, we have no business claiming an exclusive role as steward or demanding other sectors of our society pay for our indulgences. In short, we must recognize that we are accountable to the larger society around us for how we define and manage archaeology in Ontario, and our claim to an exclusive or even primary role as stewards of our province's archaeological heritage is no longer above reproach (Wylie 1993).

But where do we go from here towards that conservation ideal or stewardship trust? Cer-

tainly, in the area of consulting archaeology, the path towards stewardship would appear to lie in efforts to professionalize the discipline. As a first step, issues such as low bidding, under-qualifications of consultants, standards of investigation, etc., all need to be discussed, and strategies for improvement identified. In the area of low-bidding, for example, there is no question that right now the contempt reflected in Fitting's story about an engineer who knows they can always find an archaeologist willing to do a job for half the value of another (1984:117) is well entrenched in the development community of Ontario. And eventually, as such behaviours lead to compromising resources or cause unwarranted costs to developers, we can expect that external agencies such as approval authorities, politicians, the development sector or First Nations communities will become more jaded, and question the value of the work and the authority of archaeologists to address these issues.

In recent years, however, the consulting industry has tended to wait for external agencies to address such problems. In part, given that there have been on and off efforts to revise the Ontario Heritage Act over the last 10 years, there has been a general expectation that such a revision will change licensing provisions, and thus improve the level of consulting in the province, by excluding under-qualified or "problem" archaeologists. But waiting for solutions to arise external to the archaeological community, but favourable to that community, is neither appropriate nor realistic. For example, even assuming that changes proposed to licensing attempted to address qualifications, the nature of legislated regulation is such that qualifications necessarily will be broad, and, with equivalency provisions, most people currently licensed would continue to be so in the future.

The point is that while other voices can probably assist, it is ultimately up to the archaeological community to take the lead in improving the industry. For example, while under-qualified consultants are a problem, simply hoping that they be shut out by restrictive licensing does not resolve how you allow new archaeologists into the discipline, or how they should get proper experience to be qualified. Certainly a lack of relevant training in academic settings and a lack of provincial accreditation or training programmes are problems. Nevertheless, ultimately it is in the existing consultant community's own best interests to see new consultants gain proper experience, both for quality of archaeological investigations conducted, and for sound business practices. So, as a professional community, development of a mentoring or apprenticeship programme, whereby senior, experienced archaeologists are obligated to work with junior archaeologists who want to enter the consultant industry, is one small way the archaeological community can act to improve the practices of the community as a whole, and demonstrate professional responsibility.

Additional efforts can arise from efforts to improve lines of communication directly between consultants. This alone would help break down distrust and suspicion, perhaps clarifying why some consultants appear to undertake projects at dramatically lower costs, etc. Moreover, communication can help identify commonly shared problems, and recognize ways to resolve those problems. For example, the development of a consensus around basic business practices, at least as they effect resource management, would go a long way to defining accountability and trust. And in my experience of working with the consulting industry, the vast majority of consultants in Ontario would actually find much common ground and consensus with each other around the issues facing their industry, and the possible solutions to these issues — making such a consensus an achievable goal. The added advantage of such an effort would be that, should a few individual firms choose to pursue business practices which hurt or undermine such a consensus, the archaeological community would be able to censure and marginalize such individuals, and effectively seek the support from the development sector and government to do the same.

Steps taken directly by consultant archaeologists towards improving their practice will also clearly demonstrate to external interests (particularly government and the development sector) a level of professionalization, as well as legitimate a central role for the consultant in-

dustry in defining standards and practices for their discipline. In particular, demonstrated open communication, trust, peer support and mentoring would all justify efforts to have the archaeological community become self-regulatory, a goal increasingly vocalized both by government and by the archaeological community alike.

More widely, the Ontario archaeological community has also started to recognize the broader implications of the changes that have taken place over the last couple of decades, and what these changes are demanding of the profession (*e.g.*, Carruthers 1997). At this level, efforts towards entrenching a stewardship role for the archaeological community can be lumped into three broad headings: Co-operation, Communication and Co-management.

It may be trite to say, but the fact of the matter is that the practising archaeologists in Ontario — consultant, academic, avocational — are part of a community, all committed at one level or another to the investigation, protection and promotion of Ontario's archaeological heritage. A critical step towards stewardship, then, should be the strong co-operation between all sectors of the archaeological community in achieving this end. Co-operation between academic archaeologists and the consultant industry, for example, is greatly needed, both in terms of ensuring findings from the consultant's work are available for detailed research, and in terms of educating and training the next generation of Ontario archaeologists about the activity most of them will be involved in.

Co-operation, in the form of open communication between all sectors, is also desperately needed, since the level of isolation, particularly between consultant archaeologists and the rest of the community, has tended to breed distrust and mis-information about the achievements of the community as a whole. Indeed, the current level of factionalism and hostile criticism that exists within the archaeological community is disturbing and very public, and greatly serves to undermine the credibility of the community. For example, at the 1997 Canadian Archaeological Association Meetings in Saskatoon, during an open forum following a plenary presentation on the future of Canadian archaeology, response to an example of this kind of trashing included the observation by one federal and First Nations representative that if archaeologists can't find a way to work together and get beyond "petty bickering," their "toys" would be taken away and they'll soon find themselves without a role in managing the country's archaeological heritage. We need to listen to these admonishments and recognize that such challenges to the archaeological community grow strong by our own actions. Besides, so much of this internal criticism is unwarranted, petty and unproductive. After all, in a general sense we are all on the same side — sharing similar goals and a strong personal commitment to the resource. As such, we should be seeking ways to support each other's efforts, not tearing them down. In short, if we wish to legitimately define a role for the archaeological community as the stewards of Ontario's archaeological heritage, an essential first step must be demonstrable mature behaviour towards each other.

In regards to Communication, as Brian Fagan suggested during his keynote address at the same C.A.A. meeting in Saskatoon, we must be able to communicate to non-archaeologists why archaeology is important, in terms they can understand, if we want society to continue to support archaeological conservation. For example, fresh from meeting a consultant on site, a developer will sometimes complain they're paying an archaeologist to do little more than dig up road gravel, because the consultant simply showed the developer a handful of flaking debris, without explaining the broader value behind these findings. As another example, it is all too common, when asked by the media why a site is important, to see an archaeologist drone on about broken bits of stuff and what will be done to that stuff in the lab. But no one should expect developers to simply take our word that a pile of flakes was worth the ten or twenty thousand dollars it cost to dig them up. We also shouldn't be surprised if the public questions the value of spending public monies simply so a researcher can hide away and play with materials for no one's apparent benefit other than that researcher. Neither should we have to be so self-focussed in promoting the value of archaeology. Archaeological sites are much more exciting and sexy than that, and should be easy to sell, if we

think through the message we want to deliver. In particular, we've got to make a concerted effort not just to talk about sites and the past in terms that are of interest to us as specialists, but also to talk about what that place or those materials should mean to everyone — a rare and exciting glimpse into a part of our past that was unknown prior to its discovery. Effective communication skills, along with a consideration of the audience the message is being delivered to, is a key and vital role the archaeological community will need to accept as stewards of Ontario's archaeological heritage.

Finally, whether we like it or not, it is critical to recognize that those external groups expressing an interest in archaeology have a legitimate claim to that interest, and will influence the future shape of Ontario archaeology. It is important, then, for the archaeological community to establish formal ties with these other interests and develop strategies of co-management, rather than site back and hope our concerns are reflected in the decisions made between these other interests. For example, in the area of relations with Aboriginal communities, issues such as repatriation and ownership of artifacts, burials, and informed consent are all increasingly being raised in discussions between First Nations leaders and government policy makers. Likewise, any changes to land use planning legislation will always include direct discussion and co-operation between government and the development sector, which can affect archaeological conservation provisions. Unfortunately, while individual examples abound of archaeologists and other interests developing co-management strategies in these areas, there is not much of a provincial profile for these efforts, and as such, when broader, policy-led decision-making occurs, direct representation by the archaeological community is often limited.

For the archaeological community, real input in shaping the future of archaeology lies in establishing credibility and building partnerships with these external groups. And since any effective co-management strategy will require well-informed partners, a first step for the archaeological community is to seek out these other interests, educate them, and demonstrate the benefits of "good" archaeological conservation. For example, recent changes to the *Planning Act* have led municipalities across the province to seek effective means of managing archaeological resources. In response, archaeologists have been quick to present various master plan strategies that will provide these municipalities with effective, community-specific approaches to conserving local archaeology, informed by archaeological expertise and support. Likewise, increasingly archaeologists will propose to a First Nation community a strategy for incorporating Aboriginal concerns over planned, large-scale development projects that will have sizeable archaeological issues to deal with. Early consultation leads to informed consent on the part of the First Nation and support for the general efforts of conserving Aboriginal heritage, while avoiding the usual conflicts which arise when communication is not established. Such individual efforts should be seen as the building blocks they are in developing a strategy of shared responsibility for archaeological conservation in Ontario. To take co-management strategies further really only requires the co-ordination of these individual efforts at the broader, policy-led level of provincial decision-making. The development of co-management strategies with municipalities, the development industry and First Nations which do little more than reflect the successes made locally would go along way towards legitimising the need for the archaeological community to have a continuing role in shaping the future of archaeological conservation in Ontario.

Improvements by consultant archaeologists towards professionalizing their industry, as well as improvements by the entire archaeological community in the areas of co-operation, communication and co-management, are necessary in order to respond to the changing face of archaeology in Ontario. Such improvements will certainly benefit archaeologists and the practice of archaeology in Ontario, but not coincidentally, these efforts would also confirm the trust we seek from society in defining ourselves as legitimate stewards — almost advocates — of Ontario's archaeological heritage.

The intent in this paper has been to provide a positive perspective on the road travelled so

far by the Ontario archaeological community. Certainly the accomplishments over the last three decades, and the last 10 years in particular, have been nothing less than monumental, though we often tend to lose sight of what all we have accomplished. If, however, a pessimistic or negative perspective has seeped into some of this discussion, it is only the schizophrenic nature that characterizes the practice of archaeology today — on the one hand overwhelmed with the challenges facing the profession, and on the other amazed that we have actually come this far — is endemic. Actually there should be room for optimism precisely because of the pressures for change the external world is imposing on the archaeological community. Whether we like it or not, those interests we have brought to the table because of our concern for the conservation of our archaeological heritage are now pushing us down that long road of self reflection, of generating inventories of weaknesses and problems, of denial, defensiveness and resignation, and perhaps at the end of which find ourselves at a point where the archaeological community can actually accept accountability, "professionalization" and maintain a credible and legitimate niche for ourselves as custodians and stewards of this very important part of Ontario's heritage.

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Chapter 18

The Saskatchewan Archaeological Society and the Role of Amateur Societies

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Abstract
Volunteer-based organizations dedicated to the advancement of archaeological activity and knowledge have accomplished much in North America, but they can have perhaps even more influence into the future. While almost all province- or state-wide organizations interested in advancing research, education and conservation have always been chronically under-funded (or unfunded!), the Saskatchewan Archaeological Society has enjoyed a much better, perhaps unique, financial situation over the past decade. Its accomplishments are presented as an example of how public archaeology and the resource can benefit from the existence of stronger volunteer archaeological societies. It is certain that investment by government — and professionals — to assist such organizations can produce much more good work and effect.

Résumé
Les sociétés savantes dédiées à l'engagement et au progrès du savoir et qui embrassent des amateurs d'archéologie bénévoles ont déjà rendu bien service en Amérique du nord, mais elles peuvent peut-être influencent de plus l'avenir de l'archéologie. Contrairement à la quasi-totalité des groupes structurés des provinces ou des états, dont presque tous sont mal ou peu fondés, qui poursuivent l'épanouissement de la science par le bias de la recherche scientifique, de l'apprentissage du grand public et de la sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel, la Société Archéologique de la Saskatchewan reçoivent, uniquement peut-être mais heureusement, des fonds depuis une décennie. Ses réussites scolaires présentées ici démontrent de bon résultats de l'effort des sociétés qui comprennent des bénévoles amateurs d'archéologie, et de telles sociétés méritent le parrainage pour qu'elles puissent bien marcher. Il est certain que les investissements gouvernementeaux et l'appui de la part des archéologues professionnels continueront de plus en plus à faire réaliser un bon rendement vis-à-vis de l'héritage et qu'on peut en savoir davantage grâce aux efforts des bénévoles dévoués.

Bringing Back the Past: Historical Perspectives on Canadian Archaeology, edited by P.J. Smith and D. Mitchell. Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, Archaeological Survey of Canada, Mercury Series No. 158, 1998:249–257

It is a difficult exercise to make the history of an organization interesting to anyone other than those dedicated to that organization. One is reminded of the possibly apocryphal story of the reaction of one person to the prospect of reading a Ph.D. dissertation on the history of the Wisconsin dairy industry: "Is that teat by teat?"

Two other factors make such an exercise frustrating. First, the interest of the listener or the reader is usually inversely proportional to one's distance from the locality where the organization goes about its business. Second, mores and laws against slander and innuendo discourage us from presenting the *real* human personalities and actions that have actually affected the

enterprise. The last important information resides in the oral traditions of those involved in the archaeological subculture (translation, "Talk to us over a beer and we'll give you the straight goods on the good, bad, and ugly persons who have worked in Saskatchewan archaeology").

With these caveats out of the way, our goal is to at least have this serve a small didactic purpose, not just recite an organizational history ("Is that potsherd by potsherd?").

A rather complete look at the history of the Saskatchewan Archaeological Society to 1987 was written by the senior author and published in 1987 as part of a special issue of *Saskatchewan Archaeology* marking the Society's 25th Anniversary (Johnson 1987). This volume presents good articles on the histories and activities of the other major players in Saskatchewan archaeology over the years. (see Dyck, Pohorecky, Meyer, Spurling, Walker, Epp, all 1987; also, the SAS maintains a complete and current data-base on all published works on Saskatchewan's archaeology and prehistory [Jones 1996]).

Brief Recapitulation of History

The Saskatchewan landscape, soils, drought, and unsuitable agricultural techniques conspired to create a situation in the Dirty Thirties whereby numerous archaeological sites and thousands of artifacts were extensively exposed to collectors. These remains aroused many to a deeper curiosity about the fact that the Prairies had seen thousands of years of apparently extensive human occupation, contrary to the opinion of some prominent anthropologists (Jenness 1958: 225):

> . . . nowhere have archaeologists found evidence of other inhabitants than those of the present day, or traces of even their occupation earlier than a century or two before the arrival of the white man.

Eventually some of the contents of these hundreds of private collections came to be known to the scientific community, and more systematic consideration of their implications began. Local archaeological societies sprang up in Regina and Saskatoon, including corresponding members in rural communities further afield. While much of what was going on was extensive collection by many of the members of these groups, awareness and seeking of knowledge about the artifacts and the societies that created them began building among a somewhat broader community. A key element in this awareness of the existence of an archaeological record and heritage was the publication of the small book *Stone Age on the Prairies*, by William J. Orchard, in 1942. The book was widely distributed and served for many years as the only available source of text on and pictures of a cross-section of Prairie prehistoric artifacts.

Scientific survey and excavation got under way as late as 1950, and the first adequate classification of archaeological cultures dates from the early and mid 1950s, with the pioneering work done by Boyd Wettlaufer under contract to the province (Wettlaufer 1951). Wettlaufer's 1955 Mortlach and 1960 Long Creek excavation reports (the latter with William J. Mayer-Oakes) mark the advent of archaeological science in Saskatchewan (Wettlaufer 1955; Wettlaufer and Mayer-Oakes 1960).

Single positions in government and at the University of Saskatchewan were established in the early 1960s, ushering in the modern era for Saskatchewan archaeology. At this time, due largely to the efforts of Tom Kehoe, the Provincial Archaeologist, and key members of the amateur community, the SAS was founded in 1963 (Johnson 1987). It is probably fair to categorize Kehoe's motivation as seeking to develop a public support base for the Museum's and Province's nascent effort in discovering the resource base and obtaining examples for interpretative use. The amateur community, for its part, was delighted to have, first at the Saskatchewan Museum of Natural History in Regina in 1960, and at the University of Saskatchewan, in Saskatoon, in 1964, available and accessible local experts who could teach them about archaeology.

When Kehoe and his amateur colleagues began organizing an archaeological interest group in the early 1960s, they quickly developed a list of some 300 interested persons. The

Provincial Parks, Protected Areas, Recreation Sites and Antiquities Act 1960 was one of the first provincial statutes enacted in Canada to deal specifically with archaeological resources. These two measures (getting the amateur community organized, and getting legislation in place) were intended to crystallize action to protect the resources, and, while not having a powerful effect, did serve to set Saskatchewan on the road to a more adequate treatment of archaeological sites and artifacts.

The first general meeting of the SAS was held on April 20, 1963, with 101 out of the total membership of 224 attending. The lead-off address was by Stuart Conner of Billings, a prominent amateur plains archaeologist; he was accompanied by three fellow Montanans, Les Davis, Emmett Stallcopp, and Paul English. All four were embodiments of the best characteristics of amateurs, and were obviously brought to Saskatchewan as role-models to demonstrate to our members that important contributions can be made by persons not necessarily possessing university degrees in archaeology.

The society received technical support and advice especially from the incumbent in the Provincial Archaeologist's office, and the *Saskatchewan Archaeology Newsletter* became a valuable information source and communication medium for the far-flung membership. As the archaeological work of the Museum and of the University of Saskatchewan's Department of Anthropology and Archaeology (founded by Dr Zenon Pohorecky in 1964) began and increased, the knowledge base of the interested public grew exponentially.

The Society expanded and strengthened steadily, and was becoming a vital factor in Saskatchewan archaeology. By 1987, a combination of factors, including organizational readiness and the availability of lottery funding, persuaded the SAS to embark on its most momentous change, the hiring of an executive director and the establishment of a provincial office.

With the establishment of an office and staff in 1987, the SAS found itself able to act more as a public service organization than a private-interest club. The membership currently stands at about 550, made up of 95% amateurs and 5% professionals. We are the second largest volunteer archaeological organization in the country next to Ontario's 800 members.

The SAS also offers small amounts of financial support to eight autonomous chapters, and about 75 people belong to these but not the SAS.

An Overview of Current Programmes

When asked to briefly describe the SAS we usually say it is primarily a public education organization. However, we have always been and are increasingly involved in advocacy, and do have a small but important role in archaeological research as well (Thauberger and Jones 1992).

Our bimonthly newsletter and annual journal serve as the only current provincial publication outlets for archaeological research. Over the years, a series of successful books prepared by the Society have made contributions to the archaeological literature dealing with the Prairies. These include *Tracking Ancient Hunters: Prehistoric Archaeology in Saskatchewan* (Epp and Dyck 1983), the bible of Saskatchewan prehistory; an encyclopaedic volume on the Avonlea culture (Davis 1988); and popular books on archaeology (*Long Ago Today: The Story of Saskatchewan's Earliest Peoples* (Epp 1991) and on the effects on the natural and human history resulting from the intrusion of Europeans into our corner of the world beginning in AD 1690 — *Three Hundred Prairie Years: Henry Kelsey's "Inland Country of Good Report"* (Epp 1993).

Our annual field school at a large site washed by the reservoir waters of the South Saskatchewan River near The Elbow, consists of a mere eight days of excavation each year. Over the past ten years 54 1x1 metre units have been opened, about two-thirds of them completed to date. Both teaching and research goals are being served by the project. Several hundred participants have learned the basics through responsible involvement in archaeology at the site, which has yielded *in situ* materials dating from the historic period to late Palaeo-Indian or Early Middle Period times, and wave-exposed materials throughout the whole 10,000 year sequence in this part of the Plains.

Beginning six years ago we started presenting what we have dubbed Archaeological Games

Figure 1. Artifact identification exercise for school students at the Society's office. Photograph by T. Jones.

Figure 2 (opposite, above). Field recording of artifacts at a 1950s–1980s garbage dump near Saskatoon — the DIG (Discoveries in Garbage) Project. Photograph by T. Jones.

Figure 3 (opposite, below). Society bus tour participants visiting a rock painting site in southern Saskatchewan. Photograph by Z. Pohorecky.

and Crafts Festivals, which are essentially public events where we present displays, printed information, and especially, hands-on opportunities to try flint-knapping, pottery-making, fire-making, and the most popular, atlatlery, using our severely wounded portable buffalo. This approach does enable us to generate interest and some excitement about getting involved in archaeology and about learning the successful adaptations of past aboriginal peoples, while not affecting the resource.

In 1994 we put this kind of show on the road for the first time, covering some 8000 kilometres in six weeks with two university students travelling in a van to 22 communities, parks and events, north and south. A similar programme was repeated in 1995, with corresponding success.

One notable off-shoot stimulated by our Games and Crafts Festival approach has been the high level of skill development by members such as Darrel Stupnikoff in flint-knapping, Colleen Ames in pottery replication and firing, and Tom Stevenson in replicating all manner of organic artifact materials such as bows and arrows, fibre, and atlatls. Tom and Colleen have been commissioned by a number of institutions to create replicas.[1]

These kinds of hands-on events have annually been part of a Saskatchewan Archaeology Week, initiated in 1991. Activities, including talks, tours, and visits to excavations, take place during the last week in May.

We have mentioned the print materials we produce for member and public education, to make research results more widely available. We also have prepared several taped slide talks and a series of 20 videos, as well as an intensively-used set of four Archaeo-Kits, kits which contain a series of actual and replicated artifacts and an identification guide, as well as a copy of *Long Ago Today*. These see much use both by professional and amateur society members for talks, and by teachers in the school system.

To conclude this brief overview highlighting our main activity areas, we must mention our Member Funding support. We currently offer a maximum of $400 a year to chapters, and in 1996, a total of $6000 was awarded (for eight research and public education projects). While this is relatively small money, it has served especially as seed money for chapters and a number of archaeology students to assist in getting projects off the ground. Over the first seven years, over $65,000 has been awarded, for over 50 projects.

The Future and Role of the SAS and Similar Groups

It should be emphasized that the Saskatchewan milieu, insofar as cultural development and voluntarism are concerned, is a force which in itself has had an important effect on both the SAS and, consequently, on Saskatchewan's archaeological resources. We refer to the unique situation in which the provincial government in 1974, evidently embarrassed by the prospect of simply taking in revenues from lotteries, about to be legalized, as general revenue, struck an arrangement with a non-profit umbrella organization, SaskSport Incorporated, to have the latter organize and administer the Lotteries system, using the residual revenues for the benefit of sport, culture, and recreation. Last year, some $20 million went to 1200 organizations; $8 million of the total goes to fund 32 Provincial Cultural Organizations (PCOs), of which the SAS is one, receiving $109,400 in 1997. All of this support is at arms-length from government, although the system is operated by SaskSport under licence from the minister who holds the portfolio for culture, sport, and recreation.

Governments, including ours, to put it mildly, no longer have any qualms about using gambling money, and political and bureaucratic pressures are constantly being exercised to turn this trust money to "better" uses, like health or education, and the cultural community in Saskatchewan is right in the midst of a major cultural policy review initiated by the government. One of the issues at stake is the continued control and use of these Lotteries profits by the volunteer community.

Given the unusually fortuitous situation enjoyed to the present by the SAS in its role in

1. Jones's note: Some of you may be aware that my co-author, Eldon Johnson, is a highly-accomplished flint-knapper, dating back into the 1940s.

public education, are there any broader lessons to be gleaned by others concerned with public archaeology in other parts of Canada, in considering this history of the Society? In other words, is more or less adequate funding the only thing needed in each province?

The easy answer is yes, that the availability of *money*, combined with the capability of the amateurs and professionals working on behalf of the Society — contributing much volunteered time — has indeed been the prime factor in the SAS's success.

The opposite side of the coin is this: if the Lotteries money dries up, could the SAS survive as a publicly-effective organization? Similarly, could other provincial archaeological organizations look to developing their educational, research, and advocacy capabilities and effectiveness much more fully? We suggest these two questions are essentially the same. We can give only a few suggestions, but suggest that if archaeologists are to pay more than (very subculturally appropriate) lip-service to public archaeology in this country, bodies like the Canadian Archaeological Association, government agencies, and other institutional and individual friends of archaeology have to look at ways of developing much stronger and more effective province-wide archaeological volunteer organizations in every province and territory. For example, what effect might a national network of strong volunteer bodies have had on the cancellation of a $400,000 national programme like Access to Archaeology?

Continuing after the establishment of the SAS in 1963 the relations between amateurs and professionals may objectively be characterized as quite good — not perfect, because the usual fears and prejudices we all are aware of in our own jurisdictions have been there but many of the personalities involved have been strong and dedicated to rising above debilitating prejudices. We have enjoyed good co-operation, and the relationship has been more or less a symbiotic one. We contend that close co-operation between amateurs and professionals is even more mandatory today than it ever was. Given current and foreseeable conditions there is need for even closer co-operation, which we will discuss below.

Considering the scope of this paper, we can only enumerate a few of the problems which face archaeology and the resource which draw our attention to the importance of volunteer groups.

Problems

- The Canadian land-mass is huge; no knowledge whatsoever exists of the resources contained in vast tracts of that land
- The public is very uninformed about Canadian archaeology and its benefits to individual citizens
- There is no feasible way of providing professionals in large enough numbers to affect and effect preservation or research
- Governments have not tapped the potential for stakeholder involvement in heritage resource preservation, unlike what they have done in some other resource areas like forestry.

Roles of the Volunteer Archaeological Community

The potential roles of amateurs have been well-discussed. Speaking of Ontario, for example, Kenyon (1992:33) says:

> There is a great need for good site inventory work to be done in every part of the province. As well, there is no effective mechanism to monitor or check known sites. Despite the professionalization of archaeology (reflected in the growth of consulting archaeology), most communities have no access to such expertise in their area. As a recorder of new sites, as a steward of archaeological sites, as a local educator and adviser, the avocational archaeologists, with suitable support, can form an important part — I would say an essential part — of a strategy to conserve Ontario's archaeological heritage.

However, without putting too fine a point on it, Kenyon does not even mention probably the main benefit of volunteer organizations — *advocacy*. Lobbying of government by public heritage groups may well be uncomfortable to heritage resource managers just trying to do their job, or to political leaders, but organizations like

the SAS can be counted on to provide mature and sound criticism and advice in a collegial manner, if treated as partners in community-based resource management. Independence via independent funding for such public groups is essential.

Further, archaeology is an activity which depends *totally* on public support. It is not in any way a significant part of the gross national product, and exists — and even thrives, at times — only to the extent that its professional practitioners enlist the goodwill of non-professionals. If we reflect for a moment on this, *all* government, university and other institutional positions, and all archaeologists doing impact assessment-related work, depend entirely on such goodwill. Yet these institutions are willing to support such an arcane activity. Why? Because the public is interested, wants to learn more, and is willing to pay tax dollars or to support laws for archaeological education and conservation.

As for the SAS's future, we will simply say that we are at present fighting to maintain what we have, while looking at all ways to keep us viable, so as to evolve and develop.

What if we lose the Lottery funding base? Perhaps our only option, since we are unfortunately an *archaeological* body rather than one which could easily count on corporate support (such as a geological or medical one), is to consider becoming a larger entity in the life of the community, operating more as a business. Options in this regard include developing such functions as a research centre, an archaeological site conservancy, and/or developing a suitable site to create tourism revenues.

All of these options imply no support from government, but the potential role of future government subsidy of this educational effort (like it subsidizes multifarious worthy educational and economic interest, such as museums, universities, etc.) is something we should explore.

Finally, the argument that there is no money is one we can reject out of hand. Government always has, and always will, find money for the things it wants to support.

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Chapter 19

Stubborn Independence: An Essay on the Innu and Archaeology

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Abstract
During the 1930s the Arctic was nearly inaccessible and adventurer prehistorians arrived by dog-sled. Although ever ready to champion the local people, differences emerged as research interests and results distanced archaeologists from the needs and concerns of indigenous communities. During the last 20 years, much of the north has been transformed. Native people are increasingly demanding a role in the production of knowledge concerning their ancestors. The authors discuss archaeology's effect on Innu identity and how archaeology can constructively address the needs and interests of a Native community.

Résumé
Pendant les années 1930, l'Arctique était presque inaccessible. Le préhistorien aventurier arrivait par traîneau à chien. Bien que disposés à soutenir les populations locales, des divergences apparurent lorsque les intérêts et les résultats des chercheurs les éloignèrent des besoins et préoccupations des communautés aborigènes. Au cours des 20 dernières années, le nord a subi des transformations. les populations indigènes exigent davantage de rôle dans la production des connaissances se rapportant à leurs ancêtres. L'auteur discute comment l'archéologie agit sur l'identité des Innus. Ils discutent de la façon dont l'archéologie peut aborder de façon constructive les besoins et intérêts d'une communauté indigène.

Bringing Back the Past: Historical Perspectives on Canadian Archaeology, edited by P.J. Smith and D. Mitchell. Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, Archaeological Survey of Canada, Mercury Series No. 158, 1998:259–276

Labrador has long been a lodestone for the imagination of European descendants in the northeastern United States and the adjacent Canadian Maritimes. It was an exotic mysterious land of icebergs, silent snow-covered forests, huge fish, countless caribou, and the homeland of mysterious Indians and Eskimos. Just why Labrador should assert such a magnetic pull is not so readily apparent although I suspect that it has something to do with the cant of a northward coastline and a shared maritime economy. American interests in Labrador preceded American Independence. Benjamin Franklin was reputed to have invested in a Labrador whaling venture and poor George Cartwright (an independent British trader and trapper 1770–86) was repeatedly set upon by New England Yankee privateers during the Revolution. The maritime resources of the North Atlantic played a pivotal role in the emergence of a global economy from the time of their "discovery" by Basque whalers and Western European fisherman in the 16th century. And today, even after the collapse of the fishery through over-harvesting, Labrador retains tremendous potential for hydro-electric development, mineral exploitation and military significance (as training ground for NATO pilots [see Wadden 1991, Weiler 1992]). While frequently portrayed as an uninhabited wilderness wasteland of untapped resources, Labrador never-the-less is the homeland of indigenous Indian (Innu) and Inuit people. As their land afforded few inducements to European settle-

Figure 1. The Innu as noble savage, hunter and lord of the wilderness. Etching by William G. Hind, 1861 (Hind 1863).

ment, the Innu enjoyed an uncontested sovereignty of the Labrador interior — Nitassinan — while participating in the barter economy of the scattered Hudson's Bay Company posts and Catholic missions that ringed the peninsula.

The Innu, the Naskapi-Montagnais of the 19th-century exploration literature, have always figured significantly in perceptions of unknown Labrador. From the scattered reports of missionaries, explorers and Hudson's Bay Company employees, the Innu emerge as the typical nomadic wilderness hunters, lords unto themselves and subject to no laws but their own (Figure 1).

Gradually, throughout the late 19th and 20th centuries, the Innu have drifted towards increased reliance on purchased supplies and materials and village life (Henriksen 1973, Mailhot 1997). With the decline of the caribou herds in the interior, the Innu were attracted to life in the communities; the benefits in education and health services were substantial. However, eventually the transition from an independent subsistence-based way of life in the country to a welfare- and wage-dependent cash economy in the village exacted a terrible toll in social and economic upheavals that have traumatized Innu communities. The same benevolent liberal social agenda of Federal and Provincial governments that took a paternalistic attitude towards the Innu contributed to an undermining of Innu authority and control over their access to traditional land and resources for which they have never received compensation.

While village life has freed the Innu from the spectre of starvation, it has deprived a generation of much of their heritage. In the memory of today's Innu Elders lies a portion of the last vestige of humanity's hunting heritage — its legacy of skills, knowledge, and insight to the intimate world of animals and spirits. With their passing, a chapter of Innu history is forever closed and opportunities to learn about the past become the purview of myth, memory and archaeology.

A History of Innu Archaeology in Labrador

Archaeology is a particular Western notion of learning about the past. It assumes a dominant materialist bias while eschewing indigenous knowledge, oral tradition, and mythology. As a discipline it has been primarily concerned with matters of chronology and the origin and evolution of cultures. It emerged from antiquarian pursuits rooted to 19th-century natural history, nomenclature and geography. In subverting and appropriating the past of indigenous peoples, archaeology world-wide served as a handmaiden to colonial interests. As a scientific paradigm it purported to be impartial and rigorous in its search of the truth about the past. However, in doing so, archaeology (as practised by academically trained and government supported practitioners with little first hand or practical experience about life in the North), has alienated northern Indian and Inuit peoples from their land by denying them the opportunity to participate in the production of their history. Something of this sequence of events characterizes the history of archaeology in Labrador.

Interest in the inhabitants of the New World prior to the arrival of Europeans emerged gradually during the 19th century as traces of ancient peoples were recovered during land-clearing, farming and construction activities. In Labrador, the first evidence of European interest in prehistory are the collections made by the Moravian missionaries, for the most part items removed from Thule Eskimo burial caches, and by the antiquarian T.G.B. Lloyd (1874) in southern Labrador and Newfoundland (Figure 2).

Archaeological interpretations of northern prehistory have frequently relied on ethnographic observation and analogy. Archaeologists from temperate latitudes, with little first-hand experience of northern subsistence strategies, have relied on exploration narratives and ethnography to flesh out their stone and bone assemblages. For the Innu the principal ethnographic sources are Lucien Turner (1894), William Brooks Cabot (1920) and William Duncan Strong (Strong 1929, Leacock and Rothschild 1994). The use of analogy can be problematic for archaeologists in that it simplifies the range of cultural dynamics to those ob-

Figure 2. Late Prehistoric Period lanceolate biface of Ramah Chert (attributable to the Daniel Rattle complex c. 1500 BP). For antiquarians such isolated finds were a way to commune with the vestiges of a vanished race. Collected by T.G.B. Lloyd at L'Anse du Diable on the Strait of Belle Isle, Labrador, prior 1876. British Museum, London.

Figure 3. Photograph by Lucien Turner at Kuujjuaq (Ft Chimo), 1882–4. Lucien Turner collection of photographs, National Anthropological Archives (NAA), National Museum of Natural History (NMNH), Smithsonian Institution.

served in historical records invariably ignoring or disguising variability and dooming the past to be a repeat of the present (Wobst 1978).

The Innu first come under anthropological scrutiny in 1882 with the arrival of Lucien M. Turner at Ft Chimo (Kuujjuaq). The Smithsonian Institution's third secretary, Spencer Fullerton Baird, was instrumental in directing the Institution to become one of the world's pre-eminent repositories of Natural History collections. One of Baird's most inspired naturalists was Lucien Turner (Dunbar 1983, Barr 1985:204–5), a meteorologist by training, yet a keen collector of fish, birds and their eggs, animals, fish and ethnographic specimens (Turner 1882–4, 1887). Turner worked for the Smithsonian in Alaska (between 1874 and 1879) before accepting the position in Northern Quebec (1882–4). Stationed at the Hudson's Bay Company post, Turner spent his year and a half in Ungava com-

Figure 4. Innu women processing caribou meat and skins at the Mistinibi camp, September 1906. The photographs of William Brooks Cabot are the only extant pictures of Innu life at their interior caribou-hunting camps.
WBC 1906-101, William Brooks Cabot collection, NAA, NMNH, Smithsonian Institution.

piling meteorological and magnetic observations as part of the co-ordinated investigations of the First International Polar Year 1882–3 (Barr 1985). Although Turner's observations and experiments confined him to the near vicinity of the Post he sought out Innu and Inuit families that were camped near-by and from them acquired a large collection of tools, clothing, and other ethnographic specimens. While not an archaeologist, Turner's detailed ethnological collections and his description of Innu practices and beliefs form the only systematically collected and documented inventory of late-19th-century Innu material culture. His *Ethnology of the Ungava District, Hudson Bay Territory* (1894) is a classic of 19th century material culture ethnography and a baseline for Innu ethnology. The oldest extent photography of the Innu appear to be the photographs taken by Lucien Turner (Figure 3).

William Brooks Cabot (1858–1949) was an eccentric Bostonian engineer with a life-long passion for northern Indian people and wilderness travel (Loring 1986/7, 1987). Beginning in 1899, he undertook a series of extended winter and summer trips into the interior of central

Figure 5. A meeting of stereotypes: white explorer (with tie!) showing pictures of the quintessential "Red Man" — Plains Indian buffalo hunters — to the "last wild Indians in North America." Donald MacMillan, leader of the Rawson-MacMillan Expedition, on the deck of the Bowdoin *looking at George Catlin's drawings with visiting Innu (one of the men is Shanish Rich, another is possibly Long Shan [Mantiu], the woman's name is Pinomi), September 4, 1927. Photograph by William Duncan Strong, NAA, NMNH, Smithsonian Institution.*

Quebec and northern Labrador, often in the company of Innu guides and families. In 1903 Cabot travelled to Davis Inlet where he befriended the Innu that had come out to the coast to trade. For the next seven years he made an annual pilgrimage to Labrador where he followed Innu travel routes to their caribou-hunting camps in the interior (Cabot 1920). In 1906 he visited the Innu at Mistinibi Lake (Cabot 1920:235–44) where, in the weeks preceding Cabot's visit, the Innu had speared over 1500 caribou as they passed by on their migration (Figure 4). Cabot's photographs form a priceless legacy and offer insight into the specialized caribou-hunting lifestyle of the Innu in the interior of the Quebec–Labrador peninsula (Loring 1997). Cabot had a casual interest in Innu lifestyles before European contact. From Ostinitsu, the leader of the small Innu band Cabot visited, he learned of a stone quarry site at Mistastin which he always regretted not looking up.

As the anthropologist attached to the Field Museum's Rawson-MacMillan Subarctic Expedition, William Duncan Strong spent the winter of 1927–8 living with a small band of Innu near Davis Inlet (Leacock and Rothschild 1994). Strong epitomized the traditional anthropologist in that he learned about Innu culture through participant observation and by endeavouring to learn their language (Figure 5). Strong was the first to conduct an archaeological reconnaissance in Labrador (1930). He collected from a number of historic and prehistoric Eskimo sites along the coast and from a large prehistoric Indian site in the interior which he was directed to by Joe Rich, one of his Innu hosts. Strong found that much of the site had been dug over by the Innu looking for archaeological

specimens they could sell to the Hudson's Bay Company's man at Davis Inlet.

Turner, Cabot and Strong are representative of the "heroic period" of northern archaeology, when adventurer prehistorians arrived by dog-sled and boat. In those days, logistical constraints often necessitated spending a year or more with a host community, the archaeology was as much ethnography, and archaeologists learned the language of their hosts and participated in the full round of subsistence activities. Learning about the past was contingent upon input from Innu informants whose knowledge of the land included archaeological sites.

The construction of the Goose Bay airport during World War II transformed Labrador from an inaccessible wilderness to a region with tremendous strategic and economic significance. Hydroelectric development, the ease of post-war logistics brought about by aviation, and the eventual centralization of a previously dispersed population into villages, radically altered the region. After Strong's fieldwork there was more-or-less a 40-year hiatus in archaeological research in Labrador. Even the construction of the massive Churchill Falls hydroelectric project which flooded a vast area of the province and destroyed traditional Innu camps and hunting places, proceeded with only a modicum of attention towards historical concerns.

Smithsonian Archaeology

In 1968 William Fitzhugh (and later his students and colleagues) began a sustained archaeological and palaeoecological research programme in central and northern Labrador (Fitzhugh 1972, 1976, 1978a, 1978b, 1980; Jordan 1975, 1978; Jordan and Kaplan 1980; Kaplan 1983; Nagle 1978; Cox 1977, 1978; Loring 1992, Samson 1975, 1978, 1983). Between 1968 and 1989 Fitzhugh and his collaborators played a key role in shaping perceptions of Labrador's prehistory by revealing nearly 8000 years of alternating (and sometimes overlapping) Eskimo (Inuit) and Indian (Innu) cultures in Labrador. In the course of this fieldwork the Smithsonian researchers regularly visited with settler and Inuit families along the coast and on occasion hired Inuit students and deckhands. With excavation permits issued by the Newfoundland government, there was little incentive to formally involve Inuit and Innu participation in the research. As a consequence, the resulting archaeology was promulgated in a nearly exclusive academic context divorced from native input and collaboration. One significant exception to this practice was Fitzhugh's (1977) detailed summary of prehistoric Inuit and Innu land-use prepared for the Labrador Inuit Association for use in their land-claim negotiations.

By 1985 the research results from Smithsonian-sponsored fieldwork in central and northern Labrador combined with work done by Canadian researchers in southern Labrador (McGhee and Tuck 1975) and in the Saglek Fiord region of the north coast (Tuck 1975) could be interpreted to represent a tripartite sequence of Indian occupations based on chronology, distinctive settlement-subsistence strategies, stone tool stylistic traditions, raw-material preferences and inter-regional cultural relationships:

I Maritime Archaic, *c.* 7500–3700 BP.
II Intermediate Indian, *c.* 3500–1800 BP.
III Late Prehistoric Period, *c.* 1800–400 BP.

Archaeological research in Labrador has revealed a long and complicated version of Indian prehistory. Early Maritime Archaic Indians arrived in Labrador not long after the disappearance of glacial ice. These ocean-going hunters had a well-developed maritime-based economy and elaborate mortuary ceremonialism. By *c.* 4000 BP they were living in communal longhouses and participating in long-distance exchange of ritual objects (Fitzhugh 1984). Maritime Archaic pioneers discovered the Ramah chert quarries in the Torngat Mountain region of the north Labrador coast and this chert soon became the preferred raw material for stone tool production. Abandonment of the coast and disappearance of the Maritime Archaic Indians occurred between 3900 and 3500 BP, a time that coincides with the arrival of the first palaeoeskimo people from the western Canadian Arctic.

Intermediate Indian cultures distinguish themselves from the preceding Maritime Archaic period and from the succeeding Late Pre-

Figure 6. Koliktalik-5 (HdCg-22). Excavation in progress at the Late Prehistoric Period Indian component (735±60 BP) at Koliktalik, an outer island northeast of Nain, Labrador,'1975. An 18th-century Labrador Eskimo tent-ring with the remains of a kayak has been excavated in the foreground. Photograph by William Fitzhugh.

historic Period by a clearly interior-orientated settlement-subsistence pattern and by the use of interior cherts (Fitzhugh 1972, Nagle 1978). Once again, there is evidence for long-distance interaction and ceremonialism that belies notions of tightly bounded isolated hunting societies in the north (Loring 1989).

The appearance of a radically different stone tool assemblage combined with a return to utilizing coastal resources and Ramah chert for tool manufacture attest to the appearance of Late Prehistoric Period Indian cultures (Fitzhugh 1972, 1978b) (Figure 6). A direct historical approach combining historical records and archaeology links the Late Prehistoric Period archaeological assemblages with historical Innu peoples (Loring 1992).

The archaeological determination of Indian prehistory in Labrador is based on stone tool assemblages and radiocarbon dates. The dynamism inherent in the prehistoric assemblages challenges the notions of analogy and suggests that both the past and the present are unique cultural historical phenomena.

Missing from this overview are Innu interpretations and perceptions. In Labrador, as elsewhere in the North, there is a growing recognition of the need to get local communities involved with archaeology. With the eventual resolution of land-claim negotiations, the Innu will be empowered to mandate activities that occur on land under their jurisdiction and increasingly they are demanding a role in various aspects of the production of knowledge concerning their ancestors. The movement towards a community archaeology is predicated in part on the advantages afforded by working with community members, and also recognition that scientific research does not operate in a vacuum — that researchers have a responsibility to convey research results to local communities. The post-colonial experience has denied indigenous

peoples world-wide the power and authority to govern their lives. The intellectual hegemony of Western Civilization has even been extended to the past.

The Tragedy at Utshimassit (Davis Inlet): a Catalyst for Action

On February 13, 1992 a tragic house fire in the Innu community of Utshimassit claimed the lives of six children — an event that traumatized the community. After years of chronic unemployment, government neglect, and inadequate social services, all of which served to erode Innu control over their lives and their destiny, it seemed that a nadir had been reached. Innu leaders recognized the source: "The calamity was rooted in poverty . . . . Peter Penashue, president of the Innu Nation: 'For kids growing-up there is no self-esteem, no pride in our culture?'" (Scott 1993).

Journalists created a lurid picture of Utshimassit that was nearly devoid of any historical or cultural perspective. Where they saw rotting caribou bones on the roofs of houses, the Innu might tell — if asked — of keeping bones away from dogs and respect for the caribou and the caribou master; where they saw village squalor, the Innu — if asked — might talk of their life in the country. How did things come to such dire straits? Given the assumption that most communities are self-sustaining, stable and healthy, the disruption, disintegration, and despair that characterized the recent history of Davis Inlet must have its roots in the policy of government intervention. And that brings us to the question of identity and the role that perceptions of the past play in structuring identity.

Innu Identity: Who are the Innu

Of course this is a silly question in Utshimassit and in Sheshatshit (the other principle Innu community in Labrador). WE ARE THE PEOPLE. There are kinship and obligation networks that extend across the Quebec–Labrador peninsula, as well as place names (stories and history) that saturate the featureless mazes of water and taiga that cover the interior. However two factors make this question, who are the Innu, perhaps more germane. First, the elders are dying and with them go a knowledge, a language, and a spiritual/moral philosophy that are at the core of Innu identity. The Innu Nation and the Innu Culture Centre and a small cadre of dedicated anthropologists have been seeking ways to preserve some fragments of this world view. Second, the encroachment of National and Provincial policies have set their agenda on Innu land. Rivers are dammed, NATO airforces conduct low-level flights, and a huge copper-nickel-cobalt ore deposit is being developed — all threats to Native hegemony over the land and the land's resources. As a result, Native peoples in Labrador — Innu, Inuit, and Metis — are forced to negotiate for settlement of land-claims. Part of the peculiar workings of western logic, as it pertains to land ownership and usufruct rights, has to do with matters of land tenure and use through time. Not relying exclusively on the word of Natives who have lived there for generations, courts and governing bodies have turned to archaeology to provide "hard" evidence of past land-use and determination of people's identities through time.

In Labrador, as throughout much of the circumpolar north, the continuity between extant land-based hunting and fishing communities and their ethnohistoric predecessors is particularly strong. Unlike some Native American groups elsewhere, northern communities remain land-based, dependent on subsistence strategies, and their ideologies feature a special reverence for elders, and an equally strong respect for the animals hunted. In the cycle of northern life, of life in the bush, the past is all about. It is an integral feature of the present, not a distant abstraction, but it is a past based on stories and memory rather then arrowheads, radiocarbon dates and the rings of stones marking ancient camps. There is a cyclical aspect of northern worlds, derived from the seasonal round of movements in anticipation of the availability of prey species, that lacks the linear approach of archaeological and governmental administrative logic.

Figure 7. The excavated shaputuan *(a multi-hearth communal tent structure) at Daniel Rattle (GlCg-1, Area IV), Sango Bay, Labrador, 1984. The raised hearth was full of ritually disposed animal (seal, walrus, caribou and bear) bone fragments.*

Figure 8. Offering of bear skulls and caribou antlers hung in a tree at Jochiam Nui's camp in Flower's Bay, Labrador, 1984.

The Innu of Ethnohistory

The official correspondence of 19th-century Hudson's Bay Company officials stationed in northern Labrador consistently laments the stubbornness of the Indians, their "tiresome independence" (Cooke 1969). For many years the Innu, whose fierce passion for their land and for their caribou-hunting way of life effectively resisted Company attempts to incorporate them into their economic hegemony. The Innu were the quintessential northern hunters of caribou. Unshackled by community, economic, or ecclesiastical bonds, they wandered at will across the unchartered wastelands, popping-up at the Hudson's Bay posts on Ungava one year, and at the Quebec North Shore the next.

Labrador attracted much attention in the early years of this century (in part because of a notorious lost explorer who starved to death trying to find the Naskapi at their fall caribou hunting grounds [Davidson and Rugge 1988]), Boas referred to it as a "northern marginal area" where he thought was to be found "the older type of Algonquin culture," a region of cultural stasis and stagnation (Boas 1910:529–32). Frank Speck, ever one ready to disregard evidence of culture change for the surviving vestiges of "traditional" culture, revered the Innu as the "Savage Hunters of the Labrador Peninsula" (Speck 1935). Planning to spend the winter of 1927–8 with them, William Duncan Strong described them as "the most primitive of extant peoples . . . they are reported to be surly and untrustworthy and disinclined to welcome white intruders" (Anonymous 1928:173).

This linking of the pejorative term "Naskapi" with "primitives" has a long tenure in Labrador. In Mailhot's (1986) review of ethnohistorical documents, she convincingly demonstrates how Europeans have consistently used the term "Naskapi" for the Indian groups in the Quebec–Labrador peninsula who were not tied by commercial and ecclesiastical constraints to coastal communities under the auspices of colonial authorities. Here are the good Indians, the Montagnais villagers; beyond the horizon stand the Naskapi with their incorrigible wandering and their heathen ways.

The Innu According to Archaeology

My own research in Labrador has focused on the late prehistoric-early historic period, the last two thousand years of Indian occupations. Using a direct historical approach, I have been able to trace the archaeological remains of the "Innu ancestors" (Loring 1988, 1992). This archaeological research reflects the dynamism of Innu culture which has had to adjust repeatedly to the challenges posed by competition to their resource base by non-Innu peoples: including palaeoeskimo Dorset people, Vikings, expanding Neoeskimo populations responding to the presence of European whalers in the Strait of Belle Isle, and eventually to the full spectrum of colonial powers exploiting the resources and seeking domination over formerly sovereign Labrador.

In seeking a concordance between academic and indigenous perspectives, archaeology (1) independently confirms what the Innu knew: that the Innu and "Innu ancestors" have enjoyed a long tenure in Labrador; that the Innu had a long history of inter-ethnic confrontation; and that respect for animals is an integral feature of Innu culture (Figure 7 and Figure 8); (2) elaborates Innu perceptions: that prehistoric Innu populations participated in a dynamic sphere of cultural interaction with trade and communication networks that extended throughout the Maritimes and the Far Northeast; and (3) critiques ethnohistorical accounts of the tenure of the specialized interior caribou hunting adaptation in that fieldwork has failed to locate any indication of a sustained caribou-hunting adaptation in prehistory. Rather, archaeological evidence suggests that the interior specialized caribou hunting adaptation that was observed in the 19th century results from the displacement of the Innu from the coast and from coastal-resources by expanding Neoeskimo populations coupled with a cyclical upswing in the size of the George River caribou herd. It should be noted that this conclusion is at variance with Innu beliefs about the supremacy of caribou in their construction of their past identity.

The Innu According to Themselves

Innu perceptions of their heritage and the land coalesce around the notion of *kanauenitam* which "is equivalent to the concept of stewardship; it is used to convey the idea of taking care of something, or watching over it, preserving or conserving it" (Vincent and Mailhot 1983:21, quoted in Armitage 1990:120). The Innu hold their elders in great respect. The elders have a strong emotional and spiritual attachment to the land which is at the centre of their sense of themselves and their identity. The land is where "the world-view and the philosophical concepts which are part of the [Innu] intellectual culture, were formulated. [It is] By living in this land

[that] people learned to define themselves and to define their relationship with others" (Vincent and Mailhot 1983:21, quoted in Armitage 1990:120). The land (Nitassinan) has never been ceded, the Innu claim their title to it stems from first occupancy, their relationship to the land is predicated on sharing and reciprocity that have always been the case.

When they lived in the country, the Innu considered hunting a holy occupation. "The Innu need the land and the animals in order to be religious; without it they have no outlet for their religious expression, no food for this form of symbolic thought and practice" (Armitage 1990:125). The Innu hunter believes in respect: "a hunter does not kill an animal against its will, but with its consent . . . as long as the animals and their spiritual masters are not offended, they will continue to live in peace with each other and with nature" (Henriksen 1977:8).

Respect for the animals that make life possible is a fundamental tenet of hunter-gatherer societies from the Pleistocene to the present. This is apparent in the aforementioned practices relating to the disposal of animal bones. It is apparent too in the traditional "eat-all" feasts, the *mokoshan* when the animals from successful hunts are shared with all band members (Henriksen 1973:35-9). Traditional practices of sharing provided the material and social bonds for the Innu while respect of the animal masters (who determined the movement of animals), the land (as evidenced by proper respect towards animals) and elders provided the pillars of the moral philosophy and well-being of Innu society.

"Community Archaeology" and the Innu

Sustained archaeological interest in Labrador follows by a decade the advent of village life. Despite the potential of ethnoarchaeological research and insights gained from oral traditions, archaeologists initially ignored native interests as they sought to construct their vision of the past. For the Innu, the past has a continuity not inherently recognized by archaeologists, it is the purview of community elders, whose knowledge conveyed in stories and songs, — in a language no archaeologist has yet endeavoured to learn — is a priceless and ever-diminishing library.

Today, with the dominance of village life over life in the country, and education more in the hands of city-born, university-trained teachers instead of Elders, archaeologists have to be very careful indeed as they are creating the past. Responses to my inquiries about Innu origins vary from, "we have always been here" to "we have been here for 7500 years" (a date remarkably consistent with a radiocarbon determination that Jim Tuck obtained on the L'Anse Armour Burial Mound), this later attributed to a nameless elder.

The Innu fear the loss of their culture, their land and their language. The tragedy at Utshimassit has been a painful catalyst for the Innu to take control over their lives by advancing their political, social and economic agendas. There is a growing interest in Innu communities about archaeology. In part this is attributable to the Innu's interest in reasserting an active role in interpreting their heritage, history and tradition. At Utshimassit, community-sponsored meetings were organized to discuss the roots of the community's problems and to reaffirm a commitment to traditional values and perspectives (Innu Nation 1992, 1993). Also, interest in archaeology among Innu leaders has grown with the recognition of the role that archaeology plays in land claim negotiations.
A recent initiative by the Innu Nation, Innu Resource Centre, and the Smithsonian Institution addresses the interest and needs of the Innu community in exploring their ancient land tenure. This research seeks not so much a concordance of the past as empowerment of people with the relevance and authority that control of the past conveys.

The Pathways Project

The Pathways Project was based out of Sheshatshiu, a small Innu community on the shore of Hamilton Inlet, Labrador, in September and October 1993. The project was designed with the goal of providing Innu communities with the opportunity to learn about the prac-

Figure 9. An Innu mother and daughter pause at the beginning of the portage trail at Amitshuakant opposite the junction of the Red Wine and Naskaupi Rivers, 1920. Cabot photo of portage trail camp, 1920.

tice and nature of archaeological research. It also sought to provide a training opportunity for a generation of Innu land managers, educators and policy makers able to articulate Innu needs with governmental bureaucracies and administration; and to instil in young people knowledge about the past accomplishments of the Innu — to foster Innu pride.

An essential feature of Pathways was the integration of instruction on Labrador and Innu prehistory and training about archaeology with the knowledge, wisdom and skills of participating community elders. Three weeks of classroom training preceded a month in the country at Amitshuakant, the beginning of an ancient Innu portage route that led to Seal Lake from whence the Innu used to travel on to now-flooded Michikamau and from there north to Ungava, west to Hudson's Bay and south to the Quebec North Shore. Amitshuakant was situated approximately 70 km from Sheshatshiu at the junction of the Naskaupi and Red Wine Rivers. Although unmarked in any printed atlas, Amitshuakant was a major crossroads for the Innu in the 18th and 19th

Figure 10. Innu students at Amitshuakant in nutshimit *(the country), Nitassinan, September 1993. Left to right, back to front: Dominic Rich, Sylvester Antuan, Dominic Penunsi, Edwina Jack, Richard Abraham, Kathleen Penashue, Richard Nuna, Edmund Benuen.*

century, a point from which families departed to the furthermost corners of Nitassinan (the Quebec–Labrador peninsula). William Brooks Cabot visited Amitshuakant in 1920 accompanying several Innu bands on a portion of their journey towards Michikamau (Figure 9).

At Amitshuakant (FlCf-1) we excavated the remains of several tent structures that were situated on the first flat terrace above the river. The team recovered a wide array of late-19th-century and early-20th-century artifacts including hunting and fishing paraphernalia, tobacco related products, knives, cookware, medicinal containers, molasses jugs, combs, beads and coins. The time in the country was not entirely an exercise in how visiting archaeologists practice their profession. It was an opportunity to incorporate Innu values and perspectives into a construction of history, and an opportunity to expose Innu young people (Figure 10) to the realities of life in the bush. Several of the students set snares in the vicinity of the excavation units so that dead rabbits waiting to be butchered were frequently perched on the balks. We were accompanied into the country by Louie and Mary-Adele Penashue and their infant grandson. In the evening everyone had the opportunity to accompany the Penashues while attending their nets and snares, hunt for moose and bear, and prepare food. Later, as autumn nights lengthened, everyone gathered in tents to listen to stories about the old days, about starvation times, and extraordinary journeys by snowshoe and canoe.

> In the old days, everybody lived in *nutshimit* and everything was fine, except for starvation. The food would run out and that is when the problems started.

In addition to training in excavation procedures, the Pathways students were introduced to sampling and surveying strategies. We relocated the ancient portage trail, a shallow depressed path snaking through underbrush and overgrown in places, which we followed and mapped for over 10 km.

At the conclusion of fieldwork, the team returned to Sheshatshiu where the collection was catalogued and a presentation and exhibit on the research was prepared for the community. Following analysis and completion of a report on the project, the Amitshuakant collection will be stored at the Newfoundland Museum pending permanent exhibition and curatorial facilities in Labrador (Loring n.d.).

Conclusions

The Smithsonian's involvement with anthropology and archaeology in Labrador spans the sequence previously outlined. It includes the pioneering ethnography and collecting by Lucien Turner in 1881, the work by William Duncan Strong in 1927-1928, and William Fitzhugh's palaeoecological and archaeological research in Labrador — an important Smithsonian research programme since 1970. Recently, with the formation of the Arctic Studies Center (in 1988), the Smithsonian has become committed to providing outreach opportunities to northern native groups including community archaeology programmes like Pathways. Across the circumpolar north, Native groups are gaining the means to control research conducted on their land and it is readily apparent that archaeology will have to adjust to these new conditions. Many northern peoples are interested in their distant past, yet their concerns are for the present as well, for alleviating the destructive situations that result in the tragedy of Utshimassit.

It would seem folly to presume that non-Native archaeologists could ever hope to really understand the world of northern hunters. Perhaps more so than anywhere else in the world, archaeological interpretation in the north remains closely linked with lifestyles, subsistence and behavioural strategies similar to those that occurred in the past. And while northern archaeology has always retained a strong ethnographic bias in part derived from native insight and knowledge, it has remained primarily an exercise devised by and created for the consumption of audiences far to the south of the localities from which knowledge as data was extracted. The future of Innu archaeology is clearly the Innu. The participation of and reliance on Innu Elders is a critical component of such endeavours. The Elders provide interpretations of the archaeological features and assemblages; their knowledge and beliefs conveyed in interviews and stories reaffirm Innu community values and testify to the validity and significance of Innu knowledge.

The prospect of an Innu archaeology with Innu involvement from project conception through fieldwork, analysis and interpretation promises to revolutionize knowledge and perceptions of the past. Innu archaeologists would bring language skills and an awareness of community values to the practice of archaeology. An Innu archaeology would have access to community Elders with their wisdom. An Innu prehistory that includes personal narratives, myths, legends, and place name stories can make the past more meaningful and more accessible to the communities whose legacy it is than a past derived exclusively of radiocarbon dates and an arcane academic synonymy. From an increased political awareness and agenda the future of Innu archaeology will be a collaborative venture.

The Pathways project also marked the initiation of an archaeological permitting process by the Innu Nation as a step towards Innu involvement in and control over the production of their history. The permit's main stipulations included hiring Innu students, making all research results available to Innu authorities and Innu communities, and "to be respectful of Innu culture and moral values."

> I know a lot of things myself, things you young people don't know. I could sit here and tell you about it all day. This knowledge is important to the Innu. The most important thing is to beat the drum and sing, as well as the dreams
>
> NUK NUI, Sheshatshiu elder
> (Innu Nation 1993:20).

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BRINGING BACK THE PAST

Historical Perspectives on Canadian Archaeology

EDITED BY
Pamela Jane Smith & Donald Mitchell

Over the past century and a half, Canadian archaeology has rehabilitated large portions of a history once thought to be lost beyond recovery. Coincidentally, archaeologists have been implicated in many of the great Canadian debates – topics such as the place of evolutionary theory in science and educational institutions, or the place of national aspirations in history. The advantages of an archaeological perspective have led to its inclusion in many of society's oldest institutions – learned societies, museums, universities, government agencies, and, more recently, in private and indigenous enterprises. At various times, it has also brought archaeologists into storms of controversy. Yet the depth and extent of this involvement are not well known, even to archaeologists. This book is among the first to document and analyze the growth of archaeology in Canada. In a series of pioneering essays, it tackles a range of questions such as: Who first encouraged archaeology as a science? Who participated? How did archaeology become institutionalized? How have Native peoples responded? The book is arranged in four sections, People, Institutions, Regions, and Toward the Present.

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